MILTON'S

PARADISE LOST,

BOOK I.

——ΚΑΛΟΝ ΑΚΟΤΕΜΕΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΟΙΔΟΤ
ΤΟΙΟΤΔΕ ΟΙΟΣ ΟΔΕ ΕΣΤΙ, ΘΕΟΙΣ ΕΝΑΛΙΓΚΙΟΣ ΑΤΔΗΝ.
HOM.

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IN the following ſheets, the text is printed accurately from the ſtandard edition of Paradiſe Loſt in the year 1672, and in the notes are illuſtrated the various alluſions to ancient mythology, ſacred and profane, which are ſo frequent in the firſt book of this divine Poem. Many paſſages too of the ancient poets are there remarked, of which Milton has ſo admirably availed himſelf, or to ſay it more properly, which he has ſo throughly made his own.

EMENDANDA.

PAge 18. not. col. 2. lege Telamon. P. 33. v. 223. l. ſlope. P. 36. not. col. 1. l. villains. P. 76. not. col. 1. l. antients. P. 77. not. col. l. wexing. P. 78. not. col. 1. l. πορνῆας. P. 80. not. col. 2. l. ſoporem. P. 88. not col. 1. l. Samarcand. P. 94. not. col. 1. l. nutritur. P. 95. not. col. 2. l. diſſolute. P. 155. l. towred. P. 165. not. col. 1. l. aquilae.

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PARADISE LOST,

BOOK I.

OF man's firſt diſobedience, and the fruit

OF MAN'S FIRST DISOBEDIENCE,] The poet here lays before the reader the ſubject of the following work—the diſobedience of our anceſtors to the command of God—the effects of that diſobedience which loſt them paradiſe; and the hope we are allowed to entertain, through the divine goodneſs, of being again reſtored to the like bliſsful ſtate.—ſuch are the great events our poet propoſes to celebrate—the means, by which they are brought about, are to be unfolded by degrees, whilſt here our author offers only to the reader's imagination ſuch grand ideas as are moſt capable to inſpire him with reverence and attention. The poem begins with the origin of evil in our world, and the diſobedience of our anceſtors to God, the cauſe of all our woe. We find Homer too, the father of epic poetry, beginning his Iliad from the anger of Achilles, the ſource of all the Grecian misfortunes.

Μηνιν ἄειδε, θεὰ, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
Οὐλομένην.

The wrath of Peleus' ſon, the direful ſpring
Of all the Grecian woes, ô Goddeſs ſing. POPE.

It would have been ridiculous, as Horace juſtly obſerves, had Homer begun his poem with an account of Leda's offſpring; and it would have been abſurd too in Milton, to have taken his exordium from the revolt of Satan and his angels in heaven; tho' hence the cauſe of that malice and enmity, which prompted the apoſtate ſpirit to endeavour the ruin of mankind. As we were not however to be left ignorant of this great event, the poet has taken care to give us ſome hints of it in the beginning of this book, reſerving the particular detail for that beautiful epiſode in the ſixth; as his maſter Homer has done the principal events, that either went before the commencement of the quar-

Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woe,

rel between the Phrygians and Grecians, or fell out during the first nine years of the war; the Iliad itself containing only an account of the transactions of a small part of the tenth year.

Virgil has observed the same conduct. He gives us the history of the taking of Troy, and what befell his hero, in an episode, which forms the second and third books of his poem, and in them are comprehended all the adventures of Aeneas, till the time the poem takes him up near the coast of Italy, and consequently towards the end of his travels.

Our poet here follows this plan. He opens his work representing Satan as already in hell, and there contriving the scheme of man's destruction, which he begins immediately to put in execution; neither are we told the particulars of his coming there for a great while after: so that we may justly apply to our author what Quinctilian says of Homer on a like occasion, "in pauciſſimis verſibus o-"peris ingreſſu, legem proëmiorum "ſervavit."

Forbidden tree,] The tree of knowledge of good and evil, forbidden by God to our first parents, as Moses tells us (1). Whence it had its name has occasioned great disputes. Burnet after many others, thinks that by its juice, or some other inherent quality it might have produced a new sense of shame in Adam before unknown (2). That it did communicate something to him he did not feel or know before, is plain from the words pronounced by God, (3) "Be-"hold, Adam is become as one of us "knowing good and evil." We shall afterwards have occasion to examine more at large our poet's opinion on this subject, which pretty much agrees to what is now mentioned.

Mortal taste] Virgil uses the word MORTALIS in the same sense, (4) "Quominus est illis curae mor-"talis egestas."

Augustin has an expression which serves to illustrate this (5); "Illo die "Adam et Eva mori coeperunt, quo "mortis legem qua in senium invete-"rascerent acceperunt."

Brought death——woe,] Hence the origin of human misery; in consequence of which the various evils attending us in this life, as pain, grief, &c. were introduced. So that it

(1) Gen. ii. 17. (2) Archaeolog. philos. p. 507. (3) Gen. iii. 22.
(4) G. iii. 319. (5) Comment. in Gen.

With loſs of Eden, till one greater man
Reſtore us and regain the bliſsful ſeat,
Sing heavenly Muſe, that on the ſecret top

is not by death only we are puniſhed, but during the whole courſe of our lives we continue to pay the forfeiture of ſin's entry into our world.

Perhaps our poet might have had in his view the following line of Virgil (1),

" Ille dies primus lethi, primuſque malorum
" Cauſa fuit——

or theſe words of Electra in the tragedy of Sophocles of that name,

ὦ πασᾶν κείνα πλέον ἀμέρ——
ρ' ἐλθοῦσ' ἐχθίστα δή μοι.

" O omnium illum magis diem qui
" venit infeſtiſſimus mihi!"

Thucydides has a ſimilar reflection (2) upon the conduct of the Athenians, who having refuſed audience to Meleſippus the Spartan ambaſſador, ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα (ſays that hiſtorian) τοῖς Ελλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει, " hic
" dies initium Graecis erit magno-
" rum malorum.

GREATER MAN] The ſecond Adam, as he is called by the Apoſtle (3). The poet here calls our Saviour ſimply Man in alluſion to the human nature aſſumed by him.

HEAVENLY MUSE] Our author here imitates the conſtant practice of heathen poets, whoſe cuſtom it always was to invoke the aſſiſtance of ſome muſe, in order to raiſe the reader's attention to what is delivered by a celeſtial Being, and to account the more eaſily for the poet's becoming acquainted with the many minute particulars he has to relate. So Quinctilian, " Benevolum auditorem, in-
" vocatione Dearum quas praeſidere
" vatibus creditum eſt, intentum,
" propoſita rerum magnitudine, et
" docilem, ſumma celeriter compre-
" henſa, facit." So Heſiod, that what he was to ſay may appear more venerable, tells us that the muſes themſelves taught him (4),

——ἐνέπνευσαν δὲ μοὶ αὐδὴν
Θείην, ὥς κλύοιμι, τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα.

and again (5),

Αἵ νύ ποθ' Ησίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν.

It would be needleſs to give any more examples of a cuſtom ſo univerſally known and practiſed. The muſes were ſaid to be the daughters of

(1) Aen. iv. 169. (2) Lib. 2. § 12. (3) 1 Cor. xv. (4) Theog. v. 31. (5) Ibid, v. 22.

Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didſt inſpire

Jupiter and Mnemoſyne or Memory.

Μνημοσύνην καλέω Ζηνὸς σύλλεκτραν ἀνασσαν
Ἡ Μώσας τέκνωσ' ἱερὰς ὁσιὰς λιγυφώνους,

this is Orpheus' account of them (1); and Stobaeus has preſerved to us a beautiful elegy of Solon's to the Muſes, which begins thus,

Μνημοσύνης, καὶ Ζηνὸς Ολυμπιὼ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες κλῦτέ μοι εὐχομένῳ.

Milton has here raiſed himſelf a muſe, not out of the fabulous legends of Grecian mythology, but like a Chriſtian poet he invokes the Holy Spirit of God. This muſe he again addreſſes in the beginning of his ſeventh book, where he tells us whom he means,

Before the hills appear'd, or fountain flow'd,
Thou with eternal wiſdom didſt converſe,
Wiſdom thy ſiſter,——

this is the ſiſter of that Wiſdom who ſpeaks of herſelf in the book of Proverbs (2), "When there was no "depths I was brought forth, when "there was no fountains abounding "with water —— Before the moun- "tains were ſettled, before the hills "was I brought forth——

Secret top] Secret, either becauſe Moſes talked with God there in private, when the reſt of the people were forbid to approach. Or ſecret, may ſignify here, retired or private, with reſpect to the majeſty of God, "whom no mortal eye can ſee and "live." This ſort of reverence too was annext by the Heathens to the oracles of their falſe gods; and thus it was the ancient cuſtom of the Pagan divinities to give out their oracles, either from the hallowed receſs of ſome grove, (as among the ancient Britiſh Druids) or from the inmoſt place of the temple in which they were worſhipped.

Thus Virgil deſcribes the Cumaean Sybil (3),

——immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates——

The oracles of Trophonius, which were amongſt the oldeſt in Greece, were given from a deep cave as Pauſanias informs us (4). In Dodona it was the cuſtom to receive reſponſes from the ſacred grove. So Homer (5),

Ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βυλὴν ὑπάκουσον.

Oreb, or of Sinai] Theſe hills are ſufficiently known from Scripture (6). They are two cliffs of the ſame mountain, in Arabia Petrea in the middle of the wilderneſs of Sinai.

(1) In Hymn. (2) Ch. viii. v. 24 and 25. (3) Aen. vi. 77. (4) L. ix. p. 602. Herod. l. viii. c. 184. (5) Odyſſ. xiii. v. 328. (6) Exod. xix. 16.

That ſhepherd, who firſt taught the choſen ſeed,
In the beginning how the heav'ns and earth
Roſe out of Chaos: or if Sion hill

This deſert lies about 150 miles from modern Cairo, and is on all ſides ſurrounded by mountains. The hills of Oreb and Sinai lie to the North ſide; the latter is by much the higher. There are ſeveral Greek monaſteries now upon it. The modern inhabitants call it Saint Katharine.

THAT SHEPHERD] Moſes ſo called, becauſe he kept the ſheep of Jethro his father in law, when God firſt appear'd to him in Horeb. Perhaps too the poet might have in his view that paſſage of the pſalmiſt, "Thou ledeſt thy people like a "flock, by the hand of Moſes and "Aaron." We need not here compare Heſiod to Moſes, tho' this Grecian affirms that the muſes inſpired him in mount Helicon, when he kept his flock there,

Αἵ νύ ποθ' Ησίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδὴν
Αρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ελικῶνος ὑπὸ Ζαθέοιο.

FIRST TAUGHT] Neither the Jews nor Heathens had any certain knowledge how this world was framed, till Moſes wrote his hiſtory of the creation. It is true the patriarchs were ſenſible that it was God who formed the world, but it does not appear that they knew after what manner this was done. So that he is here very juſtly ſaid to be the firſt who taught the origin of the world from a chaos.

OR IF SION HILL] Our author has in this imitated the ancient poets who hoped to render their divinities favourable to them, by invoking them under many different appellations, this πολυωνυμία being thought to increaſe their glory. Thus Diana is by Callimachus made to ask of Jupiter a multitude of names (1).

Δός μοι παρδενίην αἰώνιον, ἄππα, φυλάσσειν.
Καὶ πολυωνυμίην——

The ſame author tells us that Jupiter gave this goddeſs thirteen cities in which ſhe was to be particularly worſhipped (2).

Τρὶς δέκα τοὶ πολίεθρα χ' ὑχ' ἕνα πύργον ὀπάσσω
Τρὶς δέκα τοὶ πολίεθρα, τὰ μὴ θέον ἄλλον ἀέξειν
Εἴσεαι, ἀλλὰ μόνην σε, χ' Αρτέμιδος καλέεσθαι.

(1) Hymn. in Dian. v. 6. ſ. p. 1. 77. 20. Vide not. Spanheim. ibid.
(2) Ibid, v. 33.

Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd
Faſt by the oracle of God; I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventrous ſong,
That with no middle flight intends to ſoar
Above th' Aonian mount, while it purſues
Things unattempted yet in proſe or rhime.

Siloa's brook] This was a ſmall rivulet riſing from the Eaſt of the temple (1). Poſſibly the tower mentioned by our Saviour, might have taken its name from thence. It is not improbable that the Pſalmiſt celebrates this rivulet Pſ. xlvi. v. 5. The fabulous Ariſtaeus, P. 11. has deſcribed it at ſome length. Milton here follows the cuſtom of thoſe ancients, who, to render their deities propitious to their prayers, uſed to invoke them from the principal places, where they were thought to preſide. Thus the prieſt of Apollo in Homer (2).

Κλῦθί μεύ ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας
Κίλλαν τε Ζαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις
Σμινθεῦ——

O Smynthius ſprung from fair Latona's line,
Thou guardian power of Cylla the divine,
Thou ſource of light whom Tenedos adores;
And whoſe bright preſence gilds thy Chryſa's ſhores. Pope.

So Orph. in hymn.

Εἴτ' ἐν Ελευσῖνος τέρπῃ νηῷ Δυόσνλι,
Εἴτε χ' ἐν Φρυγίῃ σὺν μητέρι μυσιπολεύεις,
Η Κύπρῳ τέρπῃ σὺν ἐυστεφάνῳ Κυθερείῃ.

and again,

Εἴτε σύγ' ἐν Φρυγίῃ καλέχεις Ιδης ὄρος ἅγνον
Η Τμῶλος τέρπεσι, καλὸν Λυδοῖσι θέασμα.

Milton's manner of addreſs to his muſe, is becoming a poet, and a Chriſtian poet. He here calls upon the Holy Spirit from thoſe places where God uſed of old to manifeſt his preſence in a more conſpicuous manner; and while he does ſo, he recalls to our minds the circumſtance of his glorious appearance on Sinai, which muſt ſtrike us with awe.

Rhyme] This verſe is an exact tranſlation of that of Arioſto (3),

" Coſa non detta in proſa mai, ne
" in rima."

Milton here uſes the word Rhyme, not in the common acceptation in

(1) Iſ. viii. 6. Nehem. iii. 18. (2) Il. i. 37. (3) Orlando fur. c. i.

And chiefly thou, o Spirit! that doſt prefer
Before all temples th' upright heart and pure,
Inſtruct me, for thou know'ſt; thou from the firſt

contradiſtinction to blank verſe, but by this word he means Verſe in oppoſition to Proſe, this being its ancient and original ſignification, as derived from ῥυθμὸς, denoting a line conſiſting of a more exact meaſure, and proper quantity of ſyllables, of which Ariſtotle ſays, ῥυθμῷ δὲ χαίρομεν, διὰ τὸ γνωρίμον, καὶ τεταγμένον ἀρίθμον ἔχειν (1). In the ſame ſenſe Perſeus,

" Scribimus incluſi, numeros ille,
" hic pede liber (2).

Milton in the ſhort prefaces of the two editions publiſhed in his lifetime, tells us that he diſtinguiſhes in the ſpelling betwixt the word as it here is, and thus (rime,) for by this latter way of writing, he underſtands only the common meaning of the word, denoting verſes ending with like ſounds, " A thing (ſays he) in itſelf " to all judicious ears trivial, and of " no true muſical delight." This has never been denied by any who pretended to the ſmalleſt delicacy in judging of ſounds, and is no other than the invention of a barbarous age (3), to ſupply the want of all true poetical elegance, and ſince uſed by ſeveral great poets, more for want of courage to attempt ſuch an innovation as our poet has here done, than that they approved of the ancient cuſtom. Milton was the firſt Engliſhman who dared to ſhake off the bondage of rime, and adventured to write in the manner of the ancients. Fabricius (4) has given us the names of thoſe Europeans who firſt left the old cuſtom, and began to write in blank verſe. Ludovicus a Seckendorff tranſlated Lucan's Pharſalia into High Dutch, in blank verſe. He adds in the note, " ſimili ἀρυθμῳ carminis ge-
" nere Gallos uti docuere Joannes
" Antonius Bayfius, Stephanus Jo-
" dellus, Rapinus, Paſſeratius; Ita-
" los, Leo Baptiſta Albertus, Thomas
" Campanella, et Lodovicus Arioſto,
" et Bernardus Philippinus; Anglos,
" Joannes Miltonus."

Instruct me] It was neceſſary that the poet being to treat of ſubjects far above the flight of human knowledge ſhould implore the aſſiſtance of a ſpirit able to ſupply this defect. We find the ancient poets having recourſe to this method on all

(1) In problem. (2) Sat. i. v. 13. (3) Fabric. ſuppl. bib. lat. p. 171.
(4) Bib. lat. l. 2. c. 10. p. 383.

Waſt preſent, and with mighty wings outſpread
Dove-like ſat'ſt brooding on the vaſt abyſs
And mad'ſt it pregnant: what in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raiſe and ſupport;
That to the height of this great argument
I may aſſert eternal providence,
And juſtify the ways of God to men.
Say firſt, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,
Nor the deep tract of Hell, ſay firſt what cauſe

occaſions, tho' the ſubjects they were to treat of fall infinitely below the ſublimity of this of Milton's. Which of them ever aſſumed to himſelf the noble task of "juſtifying the ways of "God to man?" yet conſcious of their own weakneſs, they ſeldom fail'd to implore the muſes. Virgil (1),

"Pandite nunc Helicona Deae, can-
"tuſque movete,
"Et meminiſtis enim divae, et me-
"morare poteſtis,
"Ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabi-
"tur aura.

Heſiod in the beginning of his Theogonia, calls on the whole choir. Ovid has an addreſs of the ſame kind (3),

"Pandite nunc muſae, praeſentia
"numina vatum,
"Scitis enim nec vos fallit ſpecioſa
"vetuſtas.

Dove-like] This is what Moſes ſays, "the Spirit of God moved "upon the face of the waters," where commentators have obſerved, (3) that the word here tranſlated MOVED, ſignifies literally TO BROOD as a hen doth upon her eggs; yet we dare not affirm, that it was hence the ancients took their notion of a πρῶτογονὸν ᾠόν, or original egg, out of which all things were formed. Our poet has kept to the ſame idea on this ſubject.

— but on the watry calm
His BROODING wings the Sp'rit
of God outſpread (4).

Tract] This word here implies not only extenſion, but alſo a deep or

(1) Aen. vii. L. 41. (2) Met. L. xv. (3) Pat. comment. in Gen. Ci. v. 2. (4) B. vii. v. 235.

Mov'd our grand parents in that happy ſtate,
Favour'd of heav'n ſo highly, to fall off
From their creator, and tranſgreſs his will
For one reſtraint, lords of the world beſides?
Who firſt ſeduc'd them to that foul revolt?
Th' infernal ſerpent; he it was, whoſe guile

large hollow. So we find the Latin TRACTUS uſed by Virgil (1).

"Terras, TRACTUSQUE maris
"coelumque profundum.

ONE RESTRAINT] Theſe words are artfully thrown in here, as they highly aggravate the crime of our firſt parents. Our anceſtors had the whole earth, and its fruits at their command, and yet became impatient of one reſtraint, laid on them by God, as a trial of their homage and obedience to his will. The great moral that runs thro' the whole poem, is to inculcate ſubmiſſion and obedience to the divine commands, by ſhowing the fatal effects of a contrary conduct, in the perſons of Satan and our firſt parents.

WHO FIRST—the ſerpent] Here the poet leaves off ſpeaking any further in his own perſon, what follows, being the words of the Muſe. This ſeems imitated from Homer (2).

Τίς τ' ἄρ' σφῶε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;
Λητῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός——

Declare, O muſe! in what ill-fated hour
Sprung the fierce ſtrife, from what offended power?
Latona's ſon——

SERPENT] The devil, who entring into the ſerpent, made uſe of this form to deceive Eve. Hence he is called by St. John, the Old Serpent (3). Moſes in his relation of the fall of man, takes no notice of the arch-fiend. He relates barely the matter of fact. Philo Judaeus (4), and Maimonides (5) have led the way to other interpreters, who have explained this paſſage of Moſes allegorically. But the more wiſe commentators, from the words of St. John above quoted, and thoſe of Moſes conclude, that the devil informed the body of a real ſerpent, which opinion our poet embraces.

(1) E. iv. v. 51. (2) Il. i. v. 8. (3) Rev. xii. 9. (4) De Opif. Mund. (5) Mor. Nevoch. p. ii. c. 29.

Stir'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had caſt him out from heav'n, with all his hoſt

What time] Milton ſuppoſes the fall of Satan and his angels to have preceded the creation of this univerſe (1). However this has been doubted by many, who think the creation of angels a part of the ſix days work (2), founding their opinion on theſe words of Moſes (3), "Thus "the heavens and earth were finiſh-"ed, and all the hoſt of them;" where by "the hoſt of heaven," they underſtand the angels. It is certain, they are ſo called in ſome paſſages of ſcripture (4); but in anſwer to this it may be obſerv'd, that they are repreſented by Job (5) as celebrating the works of creation, which neceſſarily ſuppoſes their prior exiſtence; not to mention, that in moſt other paſſages of ſcripture by "the hoſt of "heaven," is evidently to be underſtood the ſun, moon and ſtars. In ſhort, there is nothing to determine our belief, that God exiſted alone, till that preciſe point of time when he formed the heavens and earth; nay, it would ſeem more probable from the conſideration of his boundleſs goodneſs, that he did not, which ſuppoſition our poet follows.

Caſt him out] Milton follows the hints we find in Scripture, of Satan's being for his pride caſt out from bliſs. M. Dacier in her notes upon Homer has obſerved, that the Pagans had a tradition among them, of a demon of Diſcord and Malediction having formerly been in heaven, and afterwards precipitated to this lower world. She proves her aſſertion from theſe verſes of Homer, where he ſays, that Jupiter threw Atè, or Diſcord, from heaven down to earth (6).

Ως εἰπὼν, ἔῤῥιψεν ἀπ' ὐρανῦ ἀστερόεντος,
Χειρὶ περιστρέψας, τάχα δ' ἵκετο ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.

And whirl'd her head-long down, for ever driven
From bright Olympus, and the ſtarry heaven,
Thence on the nether world the fury fell,
Ordain'd with man's contentious race to dwell. Pope.

Juſtin Martyr will have it, that Homer learned this event in Egypt, and that he had even read what Iſaiah writes (7), "How art thou fall'n "from heaven, O Lucifer, ſon of the "morning!" But this is impoſſible,

(1) B. viii. v. 229. (2) Auguſt. de C. D. l. ii. c. 32. (3) Gen. ii. v. 1. (4) 1 Kings xxii. 19. (5) C. xxxviii. v. 7. (6) Il. xix. v. 130. (7) C. xiv. v. 12.

Of rebel angels, by whoſe aid aſpiring
To ſet himſelf in glory above his peers,
He truſted to have equal'd the moſt high,
If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
Againſt the throne and monarchy of God
Rais'd impious war in heav'n and battle proud
With vain attempt. Him the almighty power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal ſkie
With hideous ruine and combuſtion down

ſince Homer flouriſh'd above a hundred years before that prophet. It is however worthy of our notice (continues M. Dacier) that a Pagan writer ſhould bear witneſs to this event, above a century before one of the greateſt prophets ſpoke of it.

ETHEREAL SKY] By the ethereal sky our poet means the region where the ancients placed the habitation of the Gods, far above our atmoſphere. Thus Virgil underſtands the word AETHER (1).

——"eo dicente Deûm domus alta
"ſileſcit.
"Et tremefacta ſolo tellus, ſilet ar-
"duus aether.

DOMUS ALTA is here diſtinguiſhed from the Aether, and ſignifies OLYMPUS, in the ſame manner as HEAVEN and OLYMPUS are ſeparated by Homer (2). μίγας οὐρανός, Ολύμπος τε. In the ſame ſenſe Neptune, ſpeaking of the diviſion of the world, between Jupiter, Pluto, and himſelf, ſays of Jove (3).

Ελαχεν οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν, ἐν αἰθέρι, καὶ νεφέλῃσι.
O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the
ſtarry plain
Aethereal Jove extends his high do-
main.

And afterwards adds,

Γαῖα δ' ἔτι ξυνὴ πάντων, καὶ μακρὸς Ολυμπος.
Olympus and this earth in common
lie. POPE.

RUINE] This word is not here uſed in the common ſignification which it bears in our language, but in that of the Latin, where RUINA is ſometimes uſed to expreſs the idea of ruſhing with violence, noiſe and tumult.

(1) Aen. x. 101. (2) Il. viii. (3) Il. xv. 192.

To bottomleſs perdition, there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,
Who durſt defie th' Omnipotent to arms.
Nine times the ſpace that meaſures day and night

It is in this manner that Virgil uſes it (1),

" Fluctibus oppreſſos Troas, coeli-
" que ruina.

where " ruina coeli" expreſſes a violent hurricane, accompanied with thunder and lightning.

ADAMANTINE] Perhaps our poet had in his eye that paſſage of Lucan, where he threatens the guilty with adamantine chains, prepar'd for them in Tartarus (2),

" —— abruptaque ſaxa
" Aſperat, et durum vinclis ada-
" manta paratque
" Poenam victori——

We find the ſame epithet uſed by Horace (3),

" Si figit ADAMANTINOS
" Summis verticibus dira Neceſſitas
" Clavos——

and thus Aeſchylus binds Prometheus to Caucaſus with adamantine chains (4),

—— τὸν λεωργὸν ὀχμάσαι
Ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν, ἐν' ἀῤῥήκτοις πέδοις.

" —— Populificum ut conſtringas
" Vinculorum adamantinorum firmis compedibus.

PENAL FIRE] This is one of Milton's epithets which riſes above the common uſage. He has Ariſtotle's licence for this, who ſays that a change of the natural and accuſtomed phraſe for foreign and borrowed terms, adds grace and dignity to a language (5). Τὸ ἐξαλλάξαι ποιεῖ φαινέσθαι σεμνοτέραν. We ſhall find frequent inſtances of this in the courſe of our remarks, and how well Milton underſtood that rule in Horace. Ars Poet. ver. 47. " Dixeris egregie," &c.

NINE TIMES] The poets ſeem particularly fond of this number, whether becauſe it was that of the Muſes, or becauſe it was imagined to be a perfect number, containing in itſelf the beginning, middle, and end, we ſhall not determine. Homer has often mentioned it.

Ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ἀνὰ σρατὸν ᾤχετο κῆλα θεοῖο (6).

Ἐννῆμαρ ξείνισσε, καὶ ἐννέα βοῦς ἱέρευσεν (7).

Ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νυκτάς τε καὶ ἦμαρ (8).

Virgil has not fail'd to copy him in this (9).

(1) Aen. i. 133. (2) Lib. vi. 801. (3) L. iii. Od. 24. (4) Prom. v. 6. (5) Rhet. l. iii. c. 2. (6) Il. i. (7) Il. vi. (8) Odyſſ. viii. (9) Aen. L. v. 762.

To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
Lay vanquiſht, rowling in the fiery gulph
Confounded though immortal: but his doom
Reſerv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought
Both of loſt happineſs and laſting pain
Torments him; round he throws his baleful eyes
That witneſs'd huge affliction and diſmay,
Mixt with obdurate pride and ſtedfaſt hate:

" Jamque dies epulata novem gens
" omnis——

and in another place deſcribing the giant Tytyon (1),

" —per tota novem cui jugera cor-
" pus
" Porrigitur—

We find the Romans celebrating feaſts, called Novendialia Sacra, being held (as we are told by Servius) nine days after the death of their friends. To this rite Virgil alludes (2),

" Praeterea ſi nona diem mortalibus
" almum
" Aurora extulerit, radiiſque re-
" texerit orbem,
" Prima citae Teucris ponam certa-
" mina claſſis.

Lost happiness] Our author in this verſe finely comprehends the two principal cauſes of the unhappineſs of the ſpirits of darkneſs, which, according to the receiv'd opinion, conſiſts not only in the real pains they feel, but in the recollection of the happineſs they loſt, or might have enjoyed.

Baleful] Overwhelmed with grief and anguiſh. Full of horror. Thus Spencer uſes the word (3),

Begin and end the bitter baleful ſtound.

Mixt with obdurate pride] This is a ſhort, but full character of the arch-fiend. He is exquiſitely ſenſible of the miſery to which he had reduced himſelf and others; but his exceſſive pride, and indignation againſt the Almighty, whom he falſely conſiders as the author of his misfortunes, ſtill bears him up under the torments he feels.

(1) Aen. L. vi. 596. (2) Aen. l. v. 64. (3) F. Q. b. i. ch. 7. ſt. 25.

At once as far as angels kenn he views
The diſmal ſituation waſte and wilde,
A dungeon horrible, on all ſides round
As one great furnace flam'd, yet from thoſe flames
No light, but rather darkneſs viſible

Angels kenn] Milton repreſents the ſenſes of the Angels, and their organs (agreeably to ſuch deſcriptions as we find of them in ſcripture) to be much more acute than thoſe of human creatures. The inſpired penmen ſometimes call them flaming ſpirits; they are deſcribed as flying ſwifter than lightning, and their motions ſurpaſs human thought. Here Satan views the whole extent of hell at one glance of his eye. In the fifth book, Raphael ſtanding at the gate of heaven (1) ſees at once our earth, and even the particular ſpot of paradiſe, tho' at an immenſe diſtance, and deſcends to it with an incredible ſwiftneſs.

No light] The idea we have of flame, always includes that of light proceeding from it. But our poet imagines here a ſort of fire producing, not light, but a kind of dim and gloomy glare, which he here calls "darkneſs viſible." Such is that deſcribed by the author of the Wiſdom of Solomon (2), "No power of fire might "give them light, neither could the "bright flames of the ſtars endure to "lighten that horrible night. Only "there appeared unto them a fire "kindled of itſelf, very dreadful." And below he calls it "A night in-"tolerable, which came out of the "bottom of inevitable hell." Cowley, in his Plagues of Egypt, deſcribes this darkneſs emphatically (3).

Subſtantial night, that does diſclaim
Privation's empty name.

That is, as he would think, not merely an abſence of light, but a real created darkneſs. Milton does not ſuppoſe this flame of hell to be a common elemental fire, with the ordinary properties which we ſee in it, but an extraordinary fire, created on purpoſe to torment the devil and his angels; fire, which as our poet ſays of hell in general (4),

——God by curſe
Created evil,——

(1) V. 260. (2) C. xvii. v. 5. (3) St. 13. (4) B. ii. 622.

Serv'd only to diſcover ſights of woe,
Regions of ſorrow, doleful ſhades, where peace
And reſt can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning ſulphur unconſum'd:
Such place eternal juſtice had prepar'd
For thoſe rebellious, here their priſon ordain'd
In utter darkneſs, and their portion ſet
As far remov'd from God and light of heav'n
As from the center thrice to the utmoſt pole. 74

HOPE NEVER COMES] * This particular and diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the extreme miſery of thoſe rebellious ſpirits, that they are deprived even of the moſt diſtant proſpect of relief, conveys a ſtronger idea than the longeſt account of their torments could give. Hope (as Mr. Pope has finely expreſſed it) ſprings eternal in the human breaſt (1), and ſo Thales ſays, that hope is poſſeſſed more in common by mankind, than any other enjoyment whatever, ἡ γὰρ οἷς ἄλλο μήδεν, αὕτη πάρεστιν (2), for even thoſe retain it who are deprived of every thing elſe.

Ver. 74. This thought is originally Homer's, tho' it has been carried further by Virgil and Milton. Homer tells us, that Tartarus or the place of puniſhment, is as deep as heaven is diſtant from earth (3).

Τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω, ὅσον οὐρανὸς ἐς' ἀπὸ γαίης.

Virgil has amplified this (4).

—— tum Tartarus ipſe

* Hence Dante (Infer. canto 3.) makes it part of the inſcription over hell's gate;

" Laſſate ogni ſperanza, ò voi ch' entrate.
Whoever enters, ceaſe to hope.

(1) Ethick Epiſt. (2) Ap. Stob. Serm. 262. (3) Il. viii. 16. (4) Aen. vi. 577.

O how unlike the place from whence they fell! 75
There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelm'd
With floods and whirlwinds of tempeſtuous fire,
He ſoon diſcerns, and weltring by his ſide
One next himſelf in power, and next in crime,
Long after known in Paleſtine, and nam'd
Beelzebub. To whom th' arch-enemy,

" Bis patet in praeceps tantum, ten-
" ditque ſub umbras
" Quantas ad aethereum coeli ſuſ-
" pectus Olympum.

Ver. 75. This is a very artful contraſt, and worthy of Milton's genius. After he had employed the utmoſt ſtretch of his imagination in the deſcription of this diſmal place, and while his reader almoſt beholds the ſcene of miſery, to heighten the picture, the poet ſuddenly throws acroſs him the remembrance of the heavenly manſions.

Tempestuous fire] This is a noble expreſſion, and conveys a very ſtrong idea of what the poet before calls, a fiery deluge. The phraſe ſeems borrowed from theſe words of the Pſalmiſt (1), " Upon " the wicked the Lord will rain fire " and brimſtone, and an horrible tem-" peſt."

Beelzebub] Or Baalzebub, in the New Teſtament he is called the prince of devils, and hence probably our poet here makes him next in power to Satan. The accounts we have of this demon in Scripture, are but imperfect. He is ſaid to have been worſhipped among the Ekronites, and that Ahaziah ſent to conſult his oracle in his ſickneſs (2). It is certain, that the two words of which this name is compounded, ſignify the lord of flies, but it is not ſo eaſy to aſſign the true reaſon of this appellation. Scaliger thinks (3) he was thus called by the Jews in deriſion, as being a fabulous Deity; but this ſeems to be an error of that learned man, as we have many inſtances in Scripture, where thoſe idols are called by their proper names, as Balial, Berith, Aſtoreth, Chemos, &c. It is more likely, that the Baalzebub of the Ekronites

(1) Pſ. xi. 6. (2) 2 Kings c. i. (3) Not. ad frag. ſelecta.

And thence in heav'n call'd Satan, with bold words

was the ſame whom the Grecians called Δία μύοδην, or Απομυίον, from a power they attributed to him of driving away flies. We have him mentioned by this attribute in ſeveral writers: thus Pliny (1), when ſpeaking of flies, "Nullum animal minus docile "exiſtimatur. Eo mirabilius eſt O- "lympiae ſacro certamine nubes ea- "rum, immolato tauro Deo, quem "Myioden vocant, extra territorium "id abire." I imagine, that in this paſſage, inſtead of Myioden (μυίωδην), which ſignifies abounding with flies, we ſhould read Apomyion (Απομυίον), one who drives away the flies. We find the ſame account of this Deity in Pauſanias (2), when ſpeaking of a feaſt held in honour of Minerva, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πανηγύρει Μυΐαγρῳ προθύσι, &c. "In hoc conventu ante omnia ſacra "faciunt Myiagro heroi, ſuper hoſtiis "voventes, et Myiagrum invocan- "tes. Iiſque cum haec fecerint, non "amplius moleſtae ſunt muſcae." The ſame author in another place (3) gives us an account of the origin of this piece of worſhip, of which he makes Hercules the author, φασὶ δὲ, Ἡρακλεῖ, &c. "Aiunt enim, Herculi "Alcmenes filio, cum Olympiae ſa- "crificaret, maximam muſcas exhi- "buiſſe moleſtiam, eum itaque — ſa- "cra feciſſe Jovi Apomyio (Απομυίῳ,) et "abactas fuiſſe muſcas trans Alphe- "um." Aelian mentions the ſame ſtory (4). However it is probable, that theſe hiſtorians are miſtaken in aſcribing the origin of this piece of idolatry to Hercules. It would rather ſeem, that the Grecians received this, as they did moſt of their abſtruſe mythology, from Orpheus, who in his travels thro' Syria and Phenicia might have ſeen ſuch a Deity worſhipped by the inhabitants of theſe countries, and thence brought his name into Greece, where he was called Απόμυιος, to expreſs the Syrian Baal-zebub. We find him alſo worſhipped by the Eleans in the ſame capacity, "Invocant et E- "gyptii Ibes ſuas (ſays Pliny) contra "ſerpentum adventum, et Elei Myia- "gron Deum, muſcarum multitudine "peſtilentiam adferente, quae proti- "nus intereunt quam litatum eſt ei "Deo." From theſe paſſages it appears, that it was no uncommon thing to give certain idols ſuch an appellation as this, and tho' it be not abſolutely certain, yet it is no very improbable conjecture to ſuppoſe, that the Ekronites worſhipped Baal-zebub for the ſame reaſon that the Greeks did their Apomyion, or driver away of flies.

(1) L. xxix. c. 6. (2) L. viii. p. 497. (3) L. v. (4) Hiſt. animal. l. v. c. 17.

Breaking the horrid ſilence thus began.

If thou beeſt he; but O how fall'n! how chang'd 84

Ver. 84. Milton obſerves that important rule in poetry, of ſaying little in his own perſon. He employs no more than eighty verſes in his invocation, and whilſt he brings the reader acquainted with the general plan, and main events of his poem; he immediately introduces his actors; according to that rule of Ariſtotle (1), αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιήτην ἐλακίςα λέγειν — ὁ δὲ ὀλίγα προιμιασαμένος, εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἦθος. "Ipſi autem "poëtae quam pauciſſima ſunt dicen- "da. At cum pauca praefatus ſit, ſta- "tim inducit vel virum vel mulierem, "aut aliquos alios mores." —— Throughout the whole of this firſt ſpeech of Satan, we find the ſtrongeſt traces of that unrelenting and haughty character, ſo peculiar to the prince of darkneſs, and which prompted him to oppoſe Omnipotence itſelf. He endeavours to inſpire his companions with the ſame ſentiments, by inſinuating, that even among the dreadful misfortunes they were fallen into, all hope was not to be caſt away, in regard their ſtrength and courage ſtill remained with them.

If thou beest he] This apoſtrophe is full of fire, and finely ſuited to the impetuous temper of Satan. We find ſomething like this in ſeveral of the poets, but not with that energy ſo peculiar to Milton. Thus Virgil (2),

"Hei mihi! qualis erat, quantum mu-
" tatus ab illo
" Hectore, qui rediit exuvias indu-
" tus Achillis,
" Vel Danaum Phrygios jaculatus
" puppibus ignes!"

Seneca has a ſimilar paſſage (3),

" —non ego antiquum decus
" Video, aut calentes ratibus exuſ-
" tis manus,
" Sed lacera membra, et ſaucios vin-
" clo gravi
" Fortes lacertos."——

And again (4),

" Non ille vultus flammeum incen-
" dens jubar,
" Sed feſſus ac dejectus, et fletu gra-
" vis."

Ennius has a thought ſomething nearer this of Milton's (5),

" Hiccine Tellamon ille eſt modò
" quem gloria ad coelum extulit?
" Quem adſpectabant; cujus ob os
" Graii ora obvertebant ſua?"

Cicero admired this paſſage ſo much, that he has given us a ſort of parody upon it (6). " Hiccine eſt ille qui " urbem? quem ſenatus? noſti caete-

(1) Poet. c. 24. (2) Aen. ii. 274. (3) Agamem. v. 744. (4) Troad. (5) In Telamon. (6) Epiſt. Famil. l. ii. ep. 10.

From him, who in the happy realms of light
Cloth'd with tranſcendent brightneſs didſt outſhine
Myriads though bright: if he whom mutual league,
United thoughts and counſels, equal hope
And hazard in the glorious enterpriſe,
Join'd with me once, now miſery hath join'd
In equal ruin: into what pit thou ſeeſt
From what highth fall'n, ſo much the ſtronger prov'd
He with his thunder: and till then who knew
The force of thoſe dire arms? yet not for thoſe,
Nor what the potent victor in his rage
Can elſe inflict, do I repent or change,
Though chang'd in outward luſtre; that fixt mind
And high diſdain, from ſenſe of injur'd merit,

"ra." Theſe paſſages are quoted, more to evince the ſuperior art of our poet, than to illuſtrate his thought! Any reader, even upon the ſlighteſt review, muſt ſee much more fire and πάθος in this apoſtrophe, than in any of the others. The ſtrong oppoſition betwixt the former glory of Beelzebub, and his preſent unhappy ſituation, ſtrikes us more forcibly by this abrupt apoſtrophe, than could be done by any deſcription.

JOIN'D WITH ME] Perhaps our poet had in his eye that pathetic addreſs of Deucalion to Pyrrha (1),

"O ſoror, ô conjux, ô foemina ſola
"ſuperſtes,
"Quam commune mihi genus, et
"patruelis origo
"Deinde torus junxit; nunc ipſa
"pericula jungunt."

(1) Ovid. Met. L. i. 351.

That with the Mightieſt rais'd me to contend,
And to the fierce contention brought along
Innumerable force of ſpirits arm'd
That durſt diſlike his reign, and me preferring,
His utmoſt power with adverſe power oppos'd
In dubious battle on the plains of heav'n,
And ſhook his throne. What though the field be loſt?
All is not loſt; th' unconquerable will,
And ſtudy of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to ſubmit or yield:
And what is elſe not to be overcome?
That glory never ſhall his wrath or might
Extort from me. To bow and ſue for grace

CONTEND] To ſtrive. This is properly a Latiniſm, the Romans uſing the word CONTENDERE in the ſame ſenſe, applying it to war. Thus Virgil (1),

"——Quis talia demens
"Abnuat, aut tecum malit CONTEN-
"DERE bello?"

The writers in proſe too ſometimes make uſe of this phraſe, as Cicero (2), "Armis cum eo contendere." Milton ſeems to be fond of this word. We find it again in the next verſe, in the ſenſe of Cicero (3), "Antiochus "magna belli CONTENTIONE ter-"ra marique ſuperatus. Homer has perſonized Contention or Diſcord, making her the ſiſter of Mars (4).

HIS THRONE] Heaven, his royal ſeat, his kingdom, ſo Theocritus calls heaven Ζανὸς θρονὸν, Jove's throne (5).

Τὰ πῶυ ϗ Ζανὸς ἐπὶ θρόνον ἄγαγε φάμα.

Our Saviour uſes the ſame expreſſion, "Swear not by heaven, for it is God's "throne (6). θρόνος ἐϛὶ τῦ Θεῦ."

(1) Aen. iv. 108. (2) Ad Att. l. vii. ep. 9. (3) Pro Sextio. c. xxvii. (4) Il. iv. 440. (5) Idyll. vii. 93. (5) Matt. v. 34.

With ſuppliant knee, and deifie his power,
Who from the terrour of this arm ſo late
Doubted his empire, that were low indeed,
That were an ignominy and ſhame beneath
This downfall; ſince by fate the ſtrength of Gods
And this empyreal ſubſtance cannot fail,
Since through experience of this great event
In arms not worſe, in foreſight much advanc't,
We may with more ſucceſsful hope reſolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war
Irreconcileable, to our grand foe,
Who now triumphs, and in th' exceſs of joy

FATE] Our poet here uſes FATE in the ſenſe of the ancient Heathens, who by this word expreſſed that eternal and unchangeable ſeries of events, which the Gods themſelves could not reverſe. This is Virgil's meaning, when he makes Jupiter ſay (1),

" FATA viam invenient——

And again,

" —— hoc regnum Dea gentibus
" eſſe
" Si qua FATA ſinunt—— (2).

And a little below,

" —Mene incepto deſiſtere victam,
" Nec poſſe Italia Teucrorum aver-
" tere regem?
" Quippe vetor FATIS" ——

In the ſame ſenſe Beel-zebub underſtands it in his anſwer to Satan, v. 133.

EMPYREAL] This is a term of the Ariſtotelians, who called the higheſt orb, the empyreal heaven, the ſubſtance of which (according to them) conſiſted of the pureſt fire, or flame. Such it has been thought is the ſubſtance of thoſe tranſparent vehicles, or bodies, in which the angels ſometimes appear'd.

(1) Aen. x. 113. (2) Aen. i. 17.

Sole reigning holds the tyranny of heav'n.

So ſpake th' apoſtate angel, though in pain,
Vaunting aloud, but rackt with deep deſpair:
And him thus anſwer'd ſoon his bold compeer.

O prince, O chief of many throned powers,
That led th' imbattell'd ſeraphim to warr
Under thy conduct, and in dreadful deeds

VAUNTING] Thus Virgil,

"Talia voce refert, curiſque ingen-
"tibus aeger
"Spem vultu ſimulat, premit altum
"corde dolorem (1)."

Theocritus has expreſſed this in a more ſimple manner, as better ſuited to the paſtoral ſtile (2),

——ἀ Κύπρις γελάοισα,
Λάθρα μὲν γελάοισα, βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχοισα.

Homer's deſcription of Juno, in the ſame circumſtances, is more majeſtick.

—— ἡ δὲ γέλασσε
Χείλεσιν· οὐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κυανέῃσιν
Ἰάνθη——

Smiles on her lips a ſpleenful joy expreſs'd,
While on her wrinkl'd front, and eye-brow bent
Sate ſtedfaſt Care, and lowring Diſcontent.

One needs not be afraid to pronounce Milton's verſe ſuperior to any of theſe above-quoted, both in the brevity and energy of expreſſion, and juſtneſs of the thought, ariſing from the nature of the foregoing ſpeech, and Satan's preſent miſery.

SERAPHIM] Or Zeraphim, from the Hebrew Zaraph, to flame. This is one of the uſual appellations given to the higheſt order of angels, from the purity and ardour of divine love with which they are animated. Thus Iſaiah deſcribes them by this name (3), as the immediate attendants on the Divine Majeſty; and in (4) Ezekiel, the Cherubim are ſaid to be UNDER the God of Iſrael (5). In that prophet's firſt viſion, he deſcribes their appearance as that of burning coals of fire, or lamps (6), and in the ſame ſenſe the Pſalmiſt ſays, that God makes his miniſters a flame of fire (7).

(1) Aen. i. 212. (2) Idyll. i. 95. (3) Iſ. vi. 2. (4) Ez. x. 20. (5) C. xi. 22. (6) Ez. i. 13. (7) Pſ. civ. 4.

Fearleſs, endanger'd heav'n's perpetual king;
And put to proof his high ſupremacy,
Whether upheld by ſtrength, or chance, or fate,
Too well I ſee and rue the dire event,
That with ſad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath loſt us heav'n, and all this mighty hoſt
In horrible deſtruction laid thus low,
As far as gods and heav'nly eſſences
Can periſh: for the mind and ſpirit remains
Invincible, and vigour ſoon returns,
Though all our glory extinct, and happy ſtate
Here ſwallow'd up in endleſs miſery.
But what if he our conqueror, (whom I now
Of force believe almighty, ſince no leſs
Than ſuch could have o'repow'rd ſuch force as ours)
Have left us this our ſpirit and ſtrength intire

EXTINCT] As a flame put out and extinguiſhed for ever. This word is very properly applied to their irrecoverable loſs of that angelick beauty, which accompanied them when in a ſtate of innocence. The Latins have uſed the word EXTINCTUS in the ſame metaphorical ſenſe. Thus Virgil (1),

" — te propter eundem
" Extinctus pudor, et, qua ſidera ad-
" ibam,
" Fama prior."

And Apuleius (2), " Reſtinguere
" pudoris ignaviam."

(1) Aen. iv. 322. (2) Met. L. 2.

Strongly to ſuffer and ſupport our pains,
That we may ſo ſuffice his vengeful ire,
Or do him mightier ſervice as his thralls
By right of warr, what e'er his buſineſs be
Here in the heart of hell to work in fire,
Or do his errands in the gloomy deep;
What can it then avail though yet we feel
Strength undiminiſht, or eternal being
To undergo eternal puniſhment?
Whereto with ſpeedy words th' arch-fiend reply'd.
Fall'n cherub, to be weak is miſerable
Doing or ſuffering: but of this be ſure, 158

Thralls] This is now an obſolete word, but frequent in our ancient poets. Thus Spencer (1),

Caytive wretched thralls, that wailled night and day.

And below,

Beſides the endleſs routs of wretched thralls.

Speedy words] In imitation of the ἔπεα πτερόεντα ſo frequent in Homer.

To be weak] To faint in an undertaking, or to ſink under a misfortune, is to be miſerable; for this muſt be referred, to the vigour and reſolution of the mind, as Beel-zebub had already allowed, that they poſſeſſed ſtrength, or natural vigour unimpaired. Martial has conveyed the ſame ſentiment in the following verſe:

"Fortiter ille facit qui miſer eſſe poteſt (2).

For as Seneca elegantly expreſſes it; "Tunc apparet, quanta ſit virtus, "quantum valeat polleatque, cum "quid poſſit PATIENTIA oſtendit (3).

V. 158. There are eleven ſyllables in this line, but it ought to be read with an ellipſis.

(1) F. Q. i. 5. 45. (2) L. xi. ep. 57. (3) De provid. c. ii.

To do ought good never will be our taſk,
But ever to do ill our ſole delight,
As being the contrary to his high will
Whom we reſiſt. If then his providence
Out of our evil ſeek to bring forth good,
Our labour muſt be to pervert that end,
And out of good ſtill to find means of evil;
Which oft times may ſucceed, ſo as perhaps
Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and diſturb
His inmoſt councils from their deſtin'd aim.
But ſee the angry victor hath recall'd

DISTURB] This word ſignifies here more than barely to interrupt. Milton uſes it in the ſame ſenſe the Latins did their DISTURBARE, whence it is derived, that is, FORCIBLY TO DIVERT, or TURN AWAY. Thus Cicero (1), "Vi conatum, et "armis DISTURBARE judicia." Caeſar ſays in the ſame manner, "DISTURBARE opera (2)."

BUT SEE] This is a figure called by the criticks an APOSIOPESIS, when the ſpeaker abruptly breaks off before he had finiſhed what he had to ſay upon the ſubject, and goes on to another. There is a fine inſtance of this in Virgil (3),

"Jam coelum terramque, meo ſine
"numine, venti,
"Miſcere, et tantas audetis tollere
"moles?
"Quos ego — ſed motos praeſtat
"componere fluctus."

It is obſerved by Plutarch (4), Αποσιώπησις ἐμφατικώτερον ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον. "Dat apoſiopeſis orationi vim atque "emphaſin majorem." This is remarkably verified in the paſſage now before us.

(1) Pro Sylla c. 25. (2) B. Civ. l. i. c. 27. (3) Aen. i. 133.
(4) Quaeſt. Plat.

His miniſters of vengeance and purſuit
Back to the gates of heav'n: the ſulphurous hail
Shot after us in ſtorm, o'reblown hath laid

His Ministers] Dr. Bently alledges there is an inconſiſtency between what is here ſaid of God's miniſters being recalled from the purſuit of the fallen angels, and that paſſage in B. vi. where the Meſſiah alone is ſaid to have vanquiſhed them, and driven them down to hell. Mr. Richardſon too in his obſervations raiſes ſome difficulty about theſe words: but it may be obſerved, that by the miniſters of vengeance are here to be underſtood, not the angels, but theſe lightnings and thunders, mentioned as ſent after the rebel angels during their fall from heaven, as Raphael tells Adam (1),

——— Eternal wrath
Burn'd after them to the bottomleſs pit.

Milton here calls the lightnings God's miniſters, as the Pſalmiſt does (2), and continuing the figure, upon their ceasing, they are ſaid to be recalled. As to what Moloch ſays (3),

When the fierce foe hung on our brok'n rere
Inſulting, and purſu'd us through the deep.

This is intelligible of the Meſſiah alone, whom their terror repreſented to them in their flight, as purſuing them all the way. Nay, the pride of Satan and Moloch would make them ſcorn to own that they were vanquiſhed by the Meſſiah alone; and thus it is natural that they ſhould diſguiſe the truth, or uſe ſuch general expreſſions as did not confine the glory to him only. A ſudden conſternation too might be the cauſe why Chaos was miſtaken, when he ſays (4),

——and heaven's gates
Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Purſuing——

This is the idea too given us in theſe words of Raphael to Adam (5),

——confounded Chaos roar'd,
And felt tenfold confuſion in their fall
Through his wild anarchy; ſo huge a rout
Incumber'd him with ruin——

Had Milton thought of any ſuch inconſiſtency in theſe paſſages, as that alledged by Dr. Bently, it is not likely he would have ſuffered it to remain in a ſecond edition of his poem. But

(1) B. vi. 865. (2) Pſ. civ. 4. (3) B. ii. 78. (4) B. ii. 996. (5) B. vi. 871.

The fiery ſurge, that from the precipice
Of heav'n receiv'd us falling, and the thunder,
Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath ſpent his ſhafts, and ceaſes now
To bellow through the vaſt and boundleſs deep.
Let us not ſlip th' occaſion, whether ſcorn,
Or ſatiate fury yield it from our foe.
Seeſt thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wilde,
The ſeat of deſolation, void of light,
Save what the glimmering of theſe livid flames

perhaps enough has been ſaid to vindicate him from any ſuch aſperſion, and to reconcile the ſeeming incongruity in the ſeveral paſſages now quoted, eſpecially as it is to be obſerved, that the evil angels every where avoid aſcribing their defeat to the Meſſiah.

WING'D WITH RED LIGHTNING] 'Tis common for the poets to give thunder and lightning wings. Thus Virgil (1),

" ——Fulminis ocyor ALIS.

The ſame poet gives us a noble deſcription of thunder in another place (2),

" ——Radios——
" Addiderant, rutuli tres ignis, et
" alitis Auſtri
" Fulgores nunc terrificos, ſonitum-
" que metumque
" Miſcebant operi, flammiſque ſe-
" quacibus iras.

The METUM and IRAS of Virgil Milton has juſtly expreſſed by the IMPETUOUS RAGE with which the thunder ſent by God for the puniſhment of the guilty, is arm'd. Virgil has again made a ſimilar metaphorical alluſion to the nature of lightning in the following words (3),

"——Me Divûm pater atque homi-
" num rex
" Fulminis adflavit ventis——

LIVID FLAMES] So Virgil calls the waters of Cocytus, a river in hell,

" vada livida (4),
" —Illae remis vada livida verrunt.

(1) Aen. v. 319. (2) Aen. viii. 429. (3) Aen. ii. 649. (4) Aen. vi. 320.

Caſts pale and dreadful? thither let us tend
From off the toſſing of theſe fiery waves,
There reſt, if any reſt can harbour there,
And reaſſembling our afflicted powers,
Conſult how we may henceforth moſt offend
Our enemy, our own loſs how repair,
How overcome this dire calamity,
What reinforcement we may gain from hope,
If not what reſolution from deſpair.

Thus Satan talking to his neareſt mate
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
That ſparkling blaz'd, his other parts beſides,
Prone on the flood, extended long and large,

This is too the epithet Statius gives the river Styx (1),

" —umbrifero Styx livida fundo.

This however is a colour more applicable to ſuch flames as theſe in hell are ſuppoſed to be by our poet, than to any water, even that of the infernal regions.

AFFLICTED POWERS] The word AFFLICTED is not here to be underſtood in the common acceptation, but as it is ſometimes uſed in the Latin, to ſignify Utterly broken and routed, or more properly, Thrown down to the ground. Thus Sueton, (2) " Aquila tentorio ejus ſuperſe-
" dens, duos cervos hinc et inde in-
" feſtantes, AFFLIXIT et ad terram
" dedit." Plautus has a ſimilar expreſſion (3), " ADFLIGAM te ad
" terram." In the ſame manner, Cicero (4) ſpeaking of the republic,
" Reſpublica et nunc AFFLICTA eſt,
" nec excitari ſine civili pernicioſiſſi-
" mo bello poteſt."

(1) Theb. i. 57. (2) Auguſt. c. 96. (3) Perſa. vi. 2. (4) Ad Att. L. viii. ep. 11.

Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge
As whom the fables name of monſtrous ſize,
Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,

MANY A ROOD] This thought of the prodigious ſtature of Satan ſeems to be taken from the ancient Pagan fables, which he mentions immediately. Homer has deſcribed the ſtature of Mars, as extravagantly large in the following lines, when being ſtruck down by Minerva, he covers ſeven acres in his fall.

Επτὰ δ' ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα πεσών, ἐκόνισσε δὲ χαίτας. Il. xxi. 407.

TITANIAN] The ſons of Titan and the Earth, who according to Heſiod (1), made war upon the Gods, and were by them vanquiſhed, and thrown down into Tartarus. From him Virgil has given the ſame account of them (2),

"Hìc genus antiquum terrae, Titania pubes,
"Fulmine dejecti, fundo volvuntur "in imo.

Below he deſcribes Tytyon ſtretched out over nine acres of ground (3),

"Necnon et Tytyon, Terrae omnipa"rentis alumnum,
"Cernere erat; per tota novem cui "jugera corpus
"Porrigitur——

Homer deſcribes the two ſons of Neptune, Oetus and Ephialtes, of the ſame enormous ſtature (4),

Εννέωροι γὰρ τοί γε ἓ ἐννεαπήχεες ἦσαν
Εὖρος, ἀτὰρ μῆκός γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι.

Nine ells aloft they rais'd their tow'ring head,
And full nine cubits broad their ſhoulders ſpread.

Theſe examples may ſerve to juſtify our poet in his account of the immenſe ſtature of the arch-fiend. We may add too, that this compariſon may be further juſtified from the conſtant opinion that has always prevailed, that the Heathen accounts of theſe giants attempting to ſcale heaven, were originally formed from the imperfect notions they had of this attempt of Satan. Mr. Pope, in his notes upon the above paſſage of the Odyſſey, obſerves, "That nothing can be inven"ted by a poet ſo boldly, as to ex"ceed what may juſtly be believed of "thoſe beings Milton is here deſcrib"ing." It is to be obſerved too, that our author has with great judgment avoided telling us particularly Satan's magnitude, as the other poets, and Homer himſelf has done that of the giants, which now a days appears a

(1) Θεογ. V. 630. (2) Aen. vi. 580. (3) V. 595. (4) Odyſſ. xi. 310.

Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
By ancient Tarſus held, or that ſea beaſt

puerility below the genius of epic poetry; as Scaliger takes notice in his examination of this paſſage of Homer, "Admirantur Graeculi pueri-"les menſuras; nimis ſaepe cogor ex-"clamare aliud eſſe Graeculum cir-"culatorem, aliud regiae orationis "authorem. Indignum cenſuit ſua "majeſtate Virgilius hanc minutam "ſuperſtitionem (1).

Briareos] Thus ſome of the firſt editions ſpell the word, to be read in four ſyllables, elſe the verſe would be lame; as in that of Heſiod (2),

——Βριάρεων γὲ μὲν ἠὺν ἐόντα
Γαμβρὸν ἓὸν ποίησε——

The ſame poet tells us, that Briareus was one of the ſons of Heaven and Earth, born with an hundred arms and fifty heads (3), and with his brothers attempted to invade heaven.

Typhon] This monſter, according to Apollodorus, was the ſon of Tartarus and the Earth (4); he was taller than the higheſt mountains, and breathed forth fire and ſmoke. Having attacked the Gods, he ſo frightned them, that they all fled into Egypt, and to avoid his purſuit, turned themſelves into various ſhapes. He was at length overcome by Jupiter after a long combat, and the mountain Aetna thrown upon him (5).

By ancient Tarsus] Our poet here alludes to a fable we find in Homer, that in the mountain Arimus near Tarſus was a cave ſaid to be Typhon's den (6),

Εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς.

Which verſe Virgil has thus tranſlated (7),

"——durumque cubile
"Inarime Jovis imperiis impoſta
"Typhoeo.

In the ſame way Aeſchylus calls him Κιλικίων οἰκήτορα ἄντρων, Inhabitant of the Cilician dens. See Prometh. V. 351.

The reader may ſee a long explication of this fable in Euſtathius (8). The commentators are much puzzled how this name Arima, or Arimae in Homer, ſhould by Virgil be called Inarime. But it will be eaſy to ſolve this difficulty, by ſaying that Arima or Arimi [Ἄρίμοι, as Strabo writes it, (9)] ſo called in Homer's days, by length of time came to be changed into Inarime. Milton calls Tarſus ancient, becauſe it was thought to be

(1) In Poet. (2) Θ. V. 817. (3) V. 150, et Apollod. l. i. Biblioth. (4) Bib. l. i. c. 6. (5) Ant. lib. met. cap. xxviii. Hyg. fab. 152. (6) Il. ii. 783. (7) Aen. ix. 716. (8) Pag. 346. edit. Rom. (9) L. xiii. 929.

Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugeſt that ſwim the ocean ſtream:
Him haply ſlumbring on the Norway foam

founded by Tharſis, or Tharſhiſh the ſon of Jaavan. Gen. x. 4.

LEVIATHAN] The leviathan is not the whale, as ſome commentators have imagined; the deſcription given of this creature in Job (1) not being correſpondent to the whale, but rather to the crocodile, as the learned Biſhop Patrick has proved in his paraphraſe upon the place, where he tells us, that there have been crocodiles ſeen of twenty, nay of forty feet long, and in ſome places above an hundred. Bochart has proved the leviathan to be the crocodile (2), in which he has been followed by Calmet, who in his dictionary has given us a ſort of commentary upon that paſſage of Job where that animal is deſcribed (3), ſhowing that every thing there ſaid agrees exactly to the crocodile, and to no other animal whatever. We are inclineable to ſuppoſe our poet meant ſo too, tho' by his placing him in the Northern ſeas, where crocodiles are never ſeen, it muſt be owned, that he ſeems to underſtand it of the whale.

OCEAN STREAM] In imitation of Homer, who uſes the ſame expreſſion when deſcribing a flight of cranes (4),

——πετόνται ἐπ' ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων.

So the poet Mimnermus (5), ὠκεανοῖο ῥόον, and Quintus Calaber (6), ὠκεανοῖο ῥεῖθρυ. In the ſame ſenſe Virgil (7),

"——oceani ſpretos pede reppulit
"undas.

Nay Homer calls the ocean itſelf a river (8),

Τὴν δὲ κατ' ὠκεανὸν ποταμὸν φέρε κῦμα ῥόοιο.

NORWAY FOAM] The foam of the Norwegian or German ocean, which waſhes Norway on the Weſt. Spencer writes in the ſame manner (9),

Haſte thee, thou faireſt planet, to thy home
Within the Weſtern FOAM.

We find a ſimilar expreſſion in Virgil (10),

"——SPUMAS ſalis aere ruebant.

And again (11),

"Adnixi torquent SPUMAS, et
"caerula verrunt aequora.

(1) C. 41.—(2) Hieroz. P. i. L. i. c. 7. (3) Voce Leviath. (4) Il. iii. 5. (5) Ap. Strab. l. i. (6) L. vi. 5. παρ. (7) Geor. iv. 233. (8) Odyſſ. xi. 638. (9) Epithalam. (10) Aen. i. 39. (11) Aen. iii. 208.

The pilot of ſome ſmall night-founder'd ſkiff,
Deeming ſome iſland, oft, as ſeamen tell,
With fixed anchor in his ſkaly rind
Moors by his ſide under the lee, while night
Inveſts the ſea, and wiſhed morn delays:
So ſtretcht out huge in length the arch-fiend lay
Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence
Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will
And high permiſſion of all-ruling heaven
Left him at large to his own dark deſigns,

NIGHT-FOUNDER'D] Some little boat whoſe pilot dares not proceed in his courſe, amid the darkneſs of the night, for fear of ſinking, or to uſe the ſea-term, foundering at ſea. Milton here alludes to ſome ſtories told by ſeamen of their miſtaking whales, when lying aſleep on the water, for rocks. Sir William Monſon in his naval tracts ſpeaks of ſuch an accident that happened to himſelf (1), by which he had near been drowned.

INVESTS THE SEA] A phraſe often uſed by the poets, who call darkneſs the mantle of the Night, with which ſhe inveſts the earth. Milton in another place has another ſuch beautiful figure, and truly poetical, when ſpeaking of the moon (2),

And o'er the dark her ſilver mantle threw.

And in another place (3),

Night's hemiſphere had VEIL'D th' horizon round.

Thence too the epithet of κυανόπεπλος given to the night. Muſaeus (4),

Ηδὴ κυανόπεπλος ἀνίδραμε νυκτὸς ὁμίχλη.

Statius (5) has a ſimilar expreſſion to that of Milton,

"—— ingenti tellurem proximus
"UMBRA
"VESTIT Athos, nemorumque ob-
"ſcurat imagine pontum.

(1) Ap. Church. b. i. p. 468. (2) B. iv. 609. (3) B. ix. 52. (4) Her. et Leand. (5) Theb. v. 51.

That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himſelf damnation, while he ſought
Evil to others, and enrag'd might ſee
How all his malice ſerv'd but to bring forth
Infinite goodneſs, grace and mercy ſhewn
On man by him ſeduc't, but on himſelf
Treble confuſion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.
Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool 221
His mighty ſtature; on each hand the flames
Driv'n backward ſlop their pointing ſpires, and rowl'd
In billows, leave i' th' midſt a horrid vale.
Then with expanded wings he ſteers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the duſky air
That felt unuſual weight, till on dry land
He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd
With ſolid, as the lake with liquid fire;

V. 221. Theſe verſes are very grand and noble. The cadence of this line perfectly repreſents the agility and quickneſs of Satan's riſing, as the effects of his motion upon that ſea of fire are deſcribed with great ſtrength and warmth of imagination in the following verſes.

THAT FELT UNUSUAL WEIGHT] Juſt ſo Virgil (1),

"—— Gemuit ſub pondere cymba
"Sutilis.

LIQUID FIRE] This may ſeem a hardy expreſſion, were it not authorized by the uſe the beſt poets have made of this epithet. Thus Virgil (2),

(1) Aen. vi. 412. (2) Ecl. vi. 32.

And ſuch appear'd in hue, as when the force
Of ſubterranean wind tranſports a hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the ſhatter'd ſide
Of thundring Aetna, whoſe combuſtible

"—— Canebat uti magnum per i-
" nane coacta
" Semina terrarumque, animaeque,
" mariſque fuiſſent,
" Et liquidi ſimul ignis.——

Macrobius has attacked Virgil for chuſing this epithet (1), at the ſame time he owns that Lucretius has made uſe of it before him (2),

" Devolet in terram LIQUIDI ca-
" lor aureus ignis.

Shakeſpear was not afraid to adopt this expreſſion before Milton (3),

Waſh me in ſteep-down gulphs of liquid fire.

PELORUS] One of the promontories of Sicily looking towards Italy. Thus Dionyſius (4),

Ηνεμόεσσα Πελωρὶς, ἐς Αὐσονίην ὀρόωσα —

This promontory is very high and ſteep, whence Silius Italicus (5),

" Celſus arenoſo tollit ſe mole Pe-
" lorus.

It is now called Il Faro. Between this promontory and the oppoſite ſhore of Italy, lay the famous Scylla and Charybdis, formerly thought ſo dangerous to mariners.

AETNA] This mountain is one of the moſt famous Volcano's in the world, throwing out from time to time a ſtream of melted matter like iron cinders, called by the Italians SARI, and ſometimes prodigious large ſtones, which appear all ſinged and burned, of the colour Milton here deſcribes them. From the horrible noiſe the mountain makes when the eruptions happen, the epithet THUNDRING is very properly applied to it, as it is common for the poets to call the flames it throws out LIGHTNING. Thus Petronius (6),

" ——jamque Aetna rotatur
" Ignibus inſolitis, et in aethera
" FULMINA mittit.

And Virgil (7),

" ——quoties Cyclopum effervere
" in agros,
" Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,
" Flammarumque globos, liquefac-
" taque volvere ſaxa!

Virgil has here touched on the principal circumſtance alluded to by Milton, in theſe words LIQUEFACTA

(1) Sat. L. vi. C. v. (2) Lib. vi. (3) Othello, Act 5. (4) Perieg. 472.
(5) L. xiv. 79. (6) Frag. de Bello Civ. (7) G. i. 471.

And fewel'd intrals thence conceiving fire,
Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds,
And leave a ſinged bottom all involv'd
With ſtench and ſmoak: ſuch reſting found the ſole
Of unbleſt feet. Him followed his next mate,
Both glorying to have ſcap't the Stygian flood
As gods, and by their own recover'd ſtrength,

SAXA, as he uſed the word ſignifying THUNDER in another place, where he has occaſion to mention this mountain (1),

"—horrificis juxta TONAT Aetna
"ruinis.

Spencer has given us a deſcription of the eruptions of this mountain ſomething like that of our poet's (2),

As burning Aetna from his boiling ſtew
Doth belch out flames, and rocks in pieces broke,
And ragged ribs of mountains molten new
Enwrapt in coal-black clouds and filthy ſmoke,
That all the land with ſtench, and heaven with horror choke.

FEWEL'D] This word is not ſynonimous with COMBUSTIBLE in the foregoing verſe; COMBUSTIBLE meaning here EASILY KINDLED; FEWELLED ſignifies, Stored with proper materials for a continued burning.

V. 235. Milton here gives us the philoſophical reaſon of the ſudden eruptions of theſe volcano's. The air, which is confined in numberleſs cavities all over this globe, being rarified to a great degree by the ſubterranean flames, is the cauſe of the ſudden eruptions we ſee in theſe mountains, whence burſting out with great violence, it carries ſtones, and whatever elſe it meets in its paſſage, along with it. This is the account which Kircher (3) gives of this phenomenon, "Infra montes, ipſumque mare (ſays "he) Camini ſubſunt et Pyrophilacia, "quae ſi quandoque incendiis corri-"piantur, ex incluſiacris vehementia "ſuſque deque vertunt omnia."

(1) Aen. iii. 571. (2) F. Q. B. i. C. 11. ſt. 44. (3) Mund. Subt. L. iv. C. 6.

Not by the ſufferance of ſupernal power.
Is this the region, this the ſoil, the clime, 242
Said then the loſt arch-angel, this the ſeat
That we muſt change for heav'n, this mournful gloom
For that celeſtial light? be it ſo, ſince he
Who now is ſov'ran can diſpoſe and bid
What ſhall be right: fardeſt from him is beſt
Whom reaſon hath equal'd, force hath made ſupream
Above his equals. Farewell happy fields,
Where joy for ever dwells: hail horrours, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundeſt hell,
Receive thy new poſſeſſor: one who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.
The mind is its own place, and in itſelf

SUFFERANCE] Shakeſpear has this expreſſion (1),

——Some villians of my court
Are of conſent and SUFFERANCE in this.

SUPERNAL] This word is not very commonly uſed, our poet often chuſing ſuch rather than the more common phraſes. Shakeſpear has ſupplied him with it, King John (2),

From that SUPERNAL judge——

V. 242. Satan's character is again very ſtrongly mark'd in this ſpeech. The horrour of his new abode ſtill recurrs upon him, nor can he help diſcovering his uneaſineſs and deſpair, tho' he endeavours always by fallacious arguments, and the joys of his fancied pre-eminence over his companions in rebellion, to aſſwage the hidden pangs of his guilty breaſt. Ambition and pride are the only comforts he has left, and theſe paſſions he endeavours as far as poſſible to gratify.

(1) As you like it, Act 2. (2) Act 2.

Can make a heav'n of hell, a hell of heav'n.
What matter where, if I be ſtill the ſame,
And what I ſhould be, all but leſs than he
Whom thunder hath made greater? here at leaſt
We ſhall be free; th' Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign ſecure, and in my choice
To reign is worth ambition tho' in hell:
Better to reign in hell, than ſerve in heav'n.
But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
Th' aſſociates and copartners of our loſs,
Ly thus aſtoniſht on th' oblivious pool,

V. 262. This ſentiment, tho' put in a ſtronger light by Milton, as uttered by Satan, a Being full of the moſt boundleſs ambition and pride, is yet ſomething a-kin to what we find have been the deſires of ambitious perſons in all ages. Thus Polynices ſays in Seneca (1),

" ——pro regno velim
" Patriam, penates, conjugem flam-
" mis dare.
" Imperia pretio quolibet conſtant
" bene.

Such too are theſe verſes of Euripides, which Caeſar had often in his mouth (2),

Εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ, τυραννίδος πέρι
Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν.——

Thus tranſlated by Cicero (3),

" Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, regnan-
" di gratia
" Violandum eſt.——

This is what Virgil elegantly calls (4),

" Regnandi dira cupido.

OBLIVIOUS] Cauſing forgetfulneſs or oblivion, in the ſenſe of the Latin OBLIVIOSUS. Thus Horace (5),

(1) Phaen. 662. (2) Phaeniſ. 527. (3) De Offic. L. iii. (4) G. i. 37. (5) L. ii. Od. 7.

And call them not to ſhare with us their part
In this unhappy manſion, or once more
With rallied arms to try what may be yet
Regain'd in heav'n, or what more loſt in hell?
So Satan ſpake, and him Beel-zebub
Thus anſwer'd. Leader of thoſe armies bright,
Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foyl'd,
If once they hear that voice, their liveliеſt pledge
Of hope in fears and dangers, heard ſo oft
In worſt extreams, and on the perilous edge
Of battle when it rag'd, in all aſſaults
Their ſureſt ſignal, they will ſoon reſume
New courage and revive, though now they ly
Grov'ling and proſtrate on yon lake of fire,
As we erewhile, aſtounded and amaz'd,
No wonder, fall'n ſuch a pernicious highth.

" Oblivioſo levia Maſſico
Ciboria exple.——
Shakeſpear has uſed it (1),
And with ſome ſweet OBLIVIOUS antidote
Cleanſe the full boſom.——

PERILOUS EDGE] Our poet has the ſame expreſſion in his deſcription of one of the battles of the angels,

——before the cloudy van
On the ROUGH EDGE of battle e're it join'd.

PERNICIOUS] Milton uſes the word here in the ſame ſenſe that the Latins did their PERNICIOSUS, whence it is derived. This is frequent with him, and it may be juſtly ſaid, that our language is thus remarkably

(1) Macbeth, Act 5.

He ſcarce had ceas'd when the ſuperiour fiend
Was moving toward the ſhoar; his pondrous ſhield
Ethereal temper, maſſy, large and round,
Behind him caſt; the broad circumference
Hung on his ſhoulders like the moon, whoſe orb

obliged to him, who has enriched it too very conſiderably by theſe phraſes he has often borrowed from the dead languages. Thus Quinctilian (1), "Humanitas invicem qualiacunque laudandi PERNICIOSISSIMA ſtudiorum hoſtis eſt." In the ſame manner Seneca (2), "Nullus PERNICIOSIOR hoſtis eſt, quam quem audacem anguſtiae faciunt."

MASSY, LARGE, AND ROUND] A fine imitation of Homer's βριθὺ, μέγα, σιβαρὸν, in the deſcription of the ſpear of Achilles. Il. τ. 388.

ROUND] This was the common form of the greater ſhield, or SCUTUM. So Homer generally calls them ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους, as in the following verſe, where he diſtinguiſhes them from the λαισήια, or targets, called by the Romans, Parmulae (3).

Ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους, λαίσηϊά τε παλιρρόινα.

BEHIND HIM CAST] This was the ordinary manner in which the ancient warriours carried their ſhields: Hector when returning from fight flings his ſhield behind (4),

Ἀμφὶ δέ μιν σφυρὰ τύπλη, ϗ αὐχένα δέρμα χελαινὸν,
Αντυξ ἡ ϖυμάτη ϑέεν ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης.

The ſhield's large orb behind his ſhoulder caſt,
His neck o'erſhading, to his ancle hung,
And as he march'd, the brazen buckler rung.

The diameter of Hector's ſhield here is almoſt the height of a tall man.

LIKE THE MOON] Thus Homer compares the ſhield of Achilles to the moon for its brightneſs (5),

—— αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα σάκος μέγα τε σιβαρόν τε
Εἵλετο, τῦ δ' ἀπάνευθε σέλας γίνετ' ἠΰτε μήνης.

And LIKE THE MOON the broad refulgent ſhield
Blaz'd with long rays, and gleam'd athwart the field.

Perhaps by this ſimile, Milton deſigned to ſhow his readers both the bulk and brightneſs of Satan's ſhield: or he might liken it to the moon's SPOTTY

(1) Lib. ii. c. 2. (2) Nat. Quaeſt. l. ii. c. 59. (3) Il. v. 453.
(4) Il. vi. 117. (5) Il. xix. 374.

GLOBE from the figures repreſented on it, which made it appear variegated, like the ſpots in the moon's disk obſerved by aſtronomers. At leaſt, this interpretation may be authorized from that paſſage of our poet, where he tells us, that the ſhields of the rebel angels were adorn'd with various arrogant emblems (1),

—— and ſhields
Various, with boaſtful argument pourtray'd.

We know from ancient hiſtory, that this cuſtom of raiſing various figures on ſhields was very uſual. We may give as inſtances (2), that ſhield of Achilles deſcribed by Homer, and that of Hercules, celebrated in a particular poem, ſaid to be Heſiod's. Virgil has deſcribed the different figures on the bucklers of Aeneas and Turnus (3). Servius informs us, that during the Trojan war, the Greeks had the figure of Neptune on their ſhields, and the Trojans, Minerva. Pauſanias (4) tells us, that Agamemnon had Terror repreſented by a lion's head on his buckler. Plutarch (5) takes notice of the ſingularity of Alcibiades ſhield, which had none of the uſual emblems of his country on it, but a Cupid carrying a thunderbolt, οὐδὲν ἐπισήμον τῶν παλαιῶν ἐχὼσαν, ἀλλ' Ἔρωτα κεραυνόφορον. Herodote attributes this invention of figures upon their ſhields, to the Carians, whom he calls the moſt ingenious people then in the world, Κάρες εἰσὶ οἱ καταδείξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημεῖα ποιέεσθαι (6). As for the other part of the ſimile, relating to the ſize of the ſhield, we need only obſerve, that other poets have been no leſs bold in images of this kind. Spencer has given one of his giants a ſhield as large as the ſun (7),

But 'ere the ſtroak could ſeize his aymed place,
His ſpear amids his ſun-broad ſhield arrived.

Virgil tacitly compares a Grecian ſhield to the ſun, in his deſcription of the monſter Polyphemus, whoſe eye he ſays reſembled theſe in magnitude (8),

" Argolici clypei, aut Phoebaeae
" lampadis inſtar.

And Taſſo, in his uſual hyperbolical ſtyle, talks of a ſhield big enough to cover the whole country betwixt Caucaſus and Atlas,

" —Scudo di lucidiſſimo diamante
" Grande, che puo coprir genti e
" paeſi
" Quanti ve n' ha fra il Caucaſo et
" l' Atlante.

Milton had already deſcribed Satan's ſtature as vaſtly exceeding any thing upon earth. He keeps up to the proportion in the ſize of his ſhield and ſpear, without which the deſcription

(1) B. vi. 84. (2) Il. xvii. (3) Ad Aen. ii. 389. (4) In Eliacis. (5) In Alcibiad. (6) L. 1. c. 171. (7) B. iii. c. 7. 39. (8) Aen. iii. 637.

Through optic glaſs the Tuſcan artiſt views
At ev'ning from the top of Feſole,
Or in Valdarno, to deſcry new lands,
Rivers or mountains in her ſpotty globe.

had been abſurd and incongruous. We are alſo to obſerve, that Milton does not ſay Satan's ſhield was as big as the moon really is, but only as it APPEARS when viewed through a teleſcope.

TUSCAN ARTIST] The famous Italian mathematician Galileo, who firſt invented the teleſcope, and applied it with great ſucceſs to the obſervation of the heavenly bodies, concerning which he made many important diſcoveries. He flouriſhed in the 17th century, and died at Arcerri, near Florence, 1642, a few years before Milton wrote.

FEZOLE] Or Fiezuole, a city ſituated about four leagues to the North of Florence, where it is not unlikely that Galileo might make ſome of his aſtronomical obſervations, being ſo near Florence, where he lived many years. By the ancients it was called Feſulae, and is frequently mentioned by Livy, Polybius, and Appian, as one of the twelve great cities of Etruria.

VALDARNO] Or (as it ought to be wrote) Val d'Arno, The Valley of Arno, a river which paſſes cloſe by Florence, and falls into the Mediterranean not far from Piſa.

Milton has taken this occaſion to celebrate a diſcovery then new, equally uſeful and important to mankind, and in this manner he has not only done honour to the inventor, but alſo enriched his ſimile with a thought entirely new, and far ſurpaſſing any thing we can meet with in the ancient poets on this ſubject.

RIVERS OR MOUNTAINS] Derham in his Aſtro-Theology (1) has given from the modern aſtronomers, a pretty general account of the rivers, ſeas, or mountains obſervable by glaſſes upon the face of the moon's orbit, and the method of meaſuring them, which has been done with ſo much care and exactneſs, that we have now the moon divided according to its ſeveral vallies, hills, and ſeas, as accurately as the ſurface of this earth.—It is remarkable, that this opinion, now confirmed by ocular demonſtration, of the inequalities in the moon's face, was older than Plutarch's time, who citesit as Clearchus' opinion (2), Εἰκόνας ἰσοπλίκας εἶναι τὰ εἰδῶλα τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης. i. e. That which is cal-

(1) B. v. c. 2. (2) De facie in orbe lunae.

His ſpear, to equal which the talleſt pine,
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the maſt
Of ſome great ammiral, were but a wand,
He walkt with to ſupport uneaſy ſteps

led the face of the moon, are the images and appearances of a great ſea in that planet.

His spear] We have already taken notice, that Milton's deſcription of Satan's ſhield was not too exorbitant. Let us now compare this account of his ſpear, with that of the Cyclops club mentioned by Homer (1),

Κύκλωπος γὰρ ἔκειτο μέγα ῥόπαλον παρὰ σηκῷ,
——τὸ μὲν ἅμμες ἴσκομεν εὐσορόωντες
Ὅσσον δ' ἰσὸν νηὸς εἰκοσόροιο μελαίνης.

A tree of ſtatelieſt growth, and yet undried,
Green from the wood, of height and bulk ſo vaſt,
The largeſt ſhip might claim it for a maſt.

Thus tranſlated by Ovid (2),

"Cui poſtquam pinus, baculi qui
"praebuit uſum
"Ante pedes poſita eſt, antennis apta ferendis.

Taſſo gives Tancred and his adverſary two ſpears as big (3),

"Poſero in reſta, e dirizzaro in
"alto
"I duo guerrieri le noderoſe antenne.

And Spencer arms one of his knights with a ſpear of the ſame ſize (4),

His ſpear amids her ſun-broad ſhield arriv'd,
Yet nathemore the ſteel aſunder riv'd,
All were the beam in bigneſs like a maſt.

We need not mention Goliah's ſpear, which is deſcribed in Scripture to be like a weaver's beam. The example of the poets we have quoted are more than enough to juſtify our author in this account of Satan's lance. To make the ſimile more juſt, he adds, that the maſt of a large ſhip would appear only as a wand, when compared with Satan's ſpear. He has given us no more than a juſt proportion, if we conſider, that he was by far the mightieſt of theſe champions,

——the leaſt of whom could weild
Theſe elements ——

as he tells us book vi.

Ammiral] Thus it is rightly printed, as in the firſt edition, not admiral, from the Italian Ammiraglio.

(1) Odyſſ. ix. 319. (2) Met. L. xiii. 782. (3) C. vi. ſt. 40.
(4) B. iii. c. 7. ſt. 39.

Over the burning marle, not like thoſe ſteps
On heaven's azure, and the torrid clime
Smote on him ſore beſides, vaulted with fire;
Nathleſs he ſo endur'd, till on the beach
Of that inflammed ſea, he ſtood and call'd
His legions, angel forms, who lay intrans't
Thick as autumnal leaves that ſtrow the brooks

MARLE] Properly a fat ſort of reddiſh clay uſed in manuring the ſoil, called by Pliny, Marga (1); but with the poets this word is uſed to ſignify any ſoil, or in general Ground. Thus Spencer (2),

To ſeize upon his foe, flat lying on the marle.

NATHLESS] This word is frequently uſed by Spencer, and Chaucer for Nevertheleſs. Thus Chaucer, Prologue to Cant. Tales (3),

But Nathleſs while that I have time and ſpace.

And Spencer (4),

Yet Nathleſs it could not do him die.

In the ſame form we find, Nathemore uſed for NOT THE MORE by the ſame poet (5); as he very frequently uſes NAE for NOT.

But Nathemore would that couragious ſwaine.

LEAVES] This beautiful ſimile is perfectly juſt in its ſeveral parts. The number of the fallen angels is finely compared to the multitude of leaves; — their looks now impaired by their fall, and, (as Milton elſewhere expreſſes it) THEIR WITHERED glory correſponds exactly with the fallen leaves deſpoiled of their verdure, and appearing dry and wrinkled. If any ſimile ever was juſt, this ſurely is; and a proof of our poet's ſuperior art. He takes it from others, but applies it with ſuperior delicacy and propriety. Thus Homer compares the Grecians to the leaves (6),

Λίην γὰρ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες ἠ ψαμάθοισιν,
Ερχονται τεδίοιο ——

but he neither mentions the time of the year when the leaves fall thickeſt, as Milton has done by the epithet AUTUMNAL, nor does he mention any ſhady place, where ſuch a fall might be moſt obſervable. Virgil's manner

(1) L. xvii. c. 6. (2) B. ii. 11. 33. (3) V. 35. (4) B. i. 9. 54. (5) B. i. 8. 13. (6) Il. ii. 800.

In Vallombroſa, where th' Etrurian ſhades
High overarch't imbowr; or ſcatter'd ſedge

of deſcribing it comes nearer to that of our author (1),

" Quam multa in ſylvis autumni fri-
" gore primo
" Lapſa cadunt folia ——

as does the compariſon; for by this ſimile the poet deſcribes the number of ghoſts waiting upon the banks of the Styx to be ferryed over. Quintus Calaber has uſed it to expreſs the number of ſlain (2),

——ἄτ' ἄσπετα φύλλα κατ' ἄλση
Χείματος ἀρχόμενυ, μετὰ τηλεθόωσαν ὀπώρην.

But in none of the above inſtances is the thought carried ſo far, or diverſified with the number of beautiful circumſtances we find in Milton.

Vallombrosa] A celebrated monaſtery in a delightful valley among the Apennine mountains, about ſix leagues from Florence, founded by St. John Gualbert, anno 1070.

Etrurian shades] Etruria, the ancient name of a conſiderable part of Italy, now Tuſcany, comprehending all that country which belongs to the ſtates of Florence, Sienna, Piſa, and Lucca.

Scatter'd sedge] Milton with great propriety introduces this ſimile of the Red-ſea, which is for the moſt part ſhallow, and full of weeds, ſo as to appear of a greeniſh colour. Thus it is deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus (3), ἡ τὲ θαλάττα τεναγώδης ἔσα κ. τ. λ. " Mare autem ibi limoſum eſt, tribus " non altius ulnis, et colore prorſus " viret, quod illi contingere aiunt, " non quod talis ſit aquae natura, " ſed propter copiam muſci et algae " ſuper aquis extentis." Nay Strabo tells us, that in ſome places of this ſea, there were trees growing, which at high water were covered by the waves (4), Καθ' ὅλην δὲ τὴν τῆς Ερυθρᾶς παραλίαν, κατὰ βυθοῦ φύεται δένδρα —ταῖς μὲν ἀμπώτεσιν ὅλα ὑπερφανῆ γιγνόμενα, ταῖς δὲ πλημμυρίσιν ἔσθ' ὅτε ὅλα καλυπτόμενα. Theophraſtus too (5) mentions this, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ φυέται ὑλήματα ἐνιὰ——καὶ δένδρα, which is thus tranſlated by Pliny (6), " Naſcuntur in mare frutices, " arboreſque —— Rubrum enim et " totus Orientis oceanus refertus eſt " ſylvis." The ſedge grows in ſuch plenty here, as Diod. Siculus informs us (7), that being thrown up in great quantities upon the ſhore, and hardned by the heat of the ſun, the inhabitants uſed to dig caves under it, and live there. Ἐκ τοῦ πάντος αἰῶνος σεσωρεῦται τοῦ

(1) Aen. vi. 309. (2) Lib. ii. 535. (3) L. iii. p. 121. (4) L. xvi. p. 766. (5) Hiſt. Plant. l. 4. c. 7. (6) Lib. xiii. c. 25. (7) L. iii. p. 109.

Afloat, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd
Hath vext the Red-ſea coaſt, whoſe waves o'rethrew

μνιὼ φύρλος ἀπλέτος—ἐν τύλοις ὧν τοῖς ἀνασή-μασιν ὕπονομος ἀνδρομῆκες ὀρυτλόνλες, κ. τ. λ. Hence it was that the Hebrews called the Red-ſea ZUPH, or Full of ſea-weed, which Heſychius expreſſes by the Greek Πολύμνια, which he explains ἡ θαλάσσα ἢ πολὺ φύκιον ἔχῦσα, The ſea which had much ſedge growing in it.

ORION] The offspring in a miraculous manner of Jupiter. Who attempting to violate Minerva, was by her put to death, and afterwards turned into a ſtar (1). When this conſtellation riſes, it commonly brings ſtorms and tempeſts along with it. Thus Iſidorus (2), "Dictus Orion "ab urina, id eſt inundatione aqua-"rum. Tempore enim hyemis obor-"tus, mare et terras aquis et tempeſ-"tatibus turbat." Hence he is ſaid by Horace to be NAUTIS INFESTUS (3),

"——et nautis infeſtus Orion
"Turbaret hybernum mare.

And in another place (4),

"Sed vides quanto trepidat tumultu
"Pronus Orion——

The ſame poet gives him the bluſtering South for a companion, which anſwers to Milton's arming him with fierce winds (5),

"Me quoque devexi rapidus comes
"Orionis
"Illyricis Notus obruit undis.

In the ſame ſenſe Virgil calls him Nimboſus (6),

"Cum ſubito aſſurgens fluctu nimboſus Orion
"In vada caeca tulit.——

VEXT] Milton uſes this word with the ſame energy as Virgil (7),

"Quid loquar aut Scyllam Niſi? aut
"quam fama ſecuta eſt,
"Candida ſuccinctam latrantibus
"inguina monſtris
"Dulichias VEXASSE rates——

Gellius (8) tells us that ſome of the ancient grammarians found fault with this term of Virgil's, as not expreſſive enough of the terrible deſtruction occaſioned by this monſter. But Gellius juſtly obſerves, that, "Vexaſſe gra-"ve verbum eſt---nam qui fertur et "raptatur, atque huc atque illuc diſ-"trahitur, is VEXARI proprie dici-"tur." Macrobius has defended Virgil (9) in the ſame manner, and almoſt in the ſame words. The ancient gloſſator too gives us the ſame idea, VEXAT, ὀχλεῖ, σκύλλει, XEIMAZEI. But Virgil is beſt of all defended in this, from C. Nepos. Timol. c. i. —

(1) Hygen. Fab. 195. Apollod. Bib. l. i. c. v. (2) Lib. iii. c. 70. (3) Epod. 15. (4) Lib. iii. Od. 27. (5) Lib. i. Od. 28. (6) Aen. i. 539. (7) Eclog. vi. (8) Lib. ii. c. 6. (9) Lib. vi. c. 7.

Buſiris and his Memphian chivalry,

"Siciliam multos annos bello VEXA-"TAM." With what delicacy and propriety does our poet here uſe a word, common indeed in itſelf, but when examined, his ſenſe of it is a ſtrong demonſtration of his learning and judgment.

BUSIRIS] We are not told by Moſes the name of this prince who was drowned in the Red-ſea. Milton has ventured to call him Buſiris. Neither is this altogether without foundation; for ſeveral chronologers place him in Egypt much about the time the Children of Iſrael left it. Sir Walter Rawleigh in his General Hiſtory (1) calls the king, who oppreſſed the Jews, and ordered their children to be put to death, by this name; and Petavius makes him live much about the ſame time (2). "Neptunus ex Lybia (ſays "he) Buſirim quoque genuiſſe pro-"ditur. Qui haud procul Nilo de-"gens, latrociniis, hoſpitumque cae-"dibus infamis eſt habitus, ſub id "tempus, ut apparet, quo ex Aegypto "receſſere Judaei." This is enough to juſtify the poet. Some have thought that there never was a king of this name, and indeed Herodote omits him in his account of the kings of Egypt (3), whence I ſuppoſe Strabo (4) maintains οὐδὲ βασιλέως, μὰ Δία, οὐδὲ τυράννου γενομένου τινὸς τῦ Βυσείριδος, that there never was any prince or tyrant of that name. However, we are aſſured by Diodorus, that there was ſuch a perſon, who ſucceeded Menes their firſt king (5). Perizonius thinks there was a prince of this name, tho' not ſo ancient as Diodorus would have him to be (6), who is in this followed by almoſt all the ancients.

"—— Quis ——

"..illaudati neſcit Buſiridis aras (7)?

Sir Walter Rawleigh contends, that this ſtory of Buſiris' cruelty towards ſtrangers was a tradition of his inhuman treatment of the Iſraelites. Mr. Pope in his notes upon Homer (8) obſerves, that 'there is a particular 'art in that poet's manner of fetching 'a compaſs as it were to draw in new 'images, beſides thoſe in which the 'direct point of likeneſs conſiſts.' That Milton perfectly underſtood the beauty of the digreſſive images, we may ſee from this ſimile, which is in a manner made up of them. Thus the deſcription of the Etrurian ſhades is a digreſſive image, as is alſo this account of the king of Egypt and his army periſhing in the ſea, which is painted with that force of fancy ſo natural to our great poet.

MEMPHIAN] Memphis, one of

(1) P. i. b. 2. c. 2. (2) Rat. Temp. p. i. l. i. c. 8. (3) L. vi. 2. (4) L. xvii. p. 802. (5) L. i. (6) Vid. Orig. Aegypt. Gen. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 245. (7) Geor. iii. 5. (8) Il. xiii. 384.

While with perfidious hatred they purſu'd
The ſojourners of Goſhen, who beheld
From the ſafe ſhore their floating carkaſes
And broken chariot wheels, ſo thick beſtrown
Abject and loſt lay theſe, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.

the moſt conſiderable cities of Egypt, ſituated upon the Weſtern ſhoar of the Nile, a few miles above the Delta, according to the ancient diviſion. It is always mentioned by the ancients as a city of great power and wealth. Thus Strabo calls it τὸ βασιλεῖον Αἰγυπτίων, "regia Aegyptiorum (1)." And Pliny (2), "Memphis quondam arx "Aegyptii regum." Herodote tells us it was built by Menes the firſt king of Egypt (3), tho' Diodorus Siculus aſcribes this to Uchoreus, the eight from Oſymanduas (4). He gives a very pompous deſcription of this city, whoſe walls were 150 ſtadia (18 miles) in circumference. This, added to the commodious ſituation of the place, made the ſucceeding kings prefer it to Thebes, and fix their reſidence there. It was particularly famous for theſe extraordinary buildings the pyramids, ſituated near it, between Memphis and the Delta, as Pliny informs us (5). This city is now ſo thoroughly deſtroyed, that it has been a matter of diſpute to aſcertain its place; which Dr. Pocock in his obſervations on Egypt (6) aſcribes not only to the materials being carried away at different times to build Alexandria and Cairo, but to the inundations of the Nile, which have entirely covered the ruins of this famous city. Milton (as is common with the poets of antiquity) names the Egyptians from this their capital.

PERFIDIOUS HATRED] This epithet is perfectly juſt. Moſes tells us that Pharaoh allowed the Jews to depart peaceably out of Egypt, without ſeeming to intend any hurt to them, till finding by the way they directed their march, that they would be ſhut up between the ſea and impaſſible mountains, he then perfidiouſly attempted to deſtroy them, had they not by a miracle eſcaped his power.

(1) L. xvii. p. 555. (2) L. v. c. 9. (3) L. i. c. 99. (4) Bib. l. i. p. 32. (5) L. xxxvi. c. 12. (6) Cap. 5.

He call'd ſo loud, that all the hollow deep
Of hell reſounded. Princes, potentates,
Warriers, the flower of heav'n, once yours, now loſt,
If ſuch aſtoniſhment as this can ſeize
Eternal ſpirits; or have ye chos'n this place
After the toil of battel to repoſe
Your wearied virtue, for the eaſe you find
To ſlumber here, as in the vales of heav'n?
Or in this abject poſture have you ſworn
To adore the conqueror? who now beholds
Cherub and ſeraph rowling in the flood
With ſcatter'd arms and enſigns, till anon
His ſwift purſuers from heav'n gates diſcern

So LOUD] Perhaps our poet had in his eye theſe verſes of Homer, where he deſcribes Neptune's voice as loud as that of ten thouſand combatants (1),

Οσσον τ' ἐννεάχιλοι ἐπίαχον, ἢ δεκάχιλοι
Ανέρες ἐν πολέμῳ, ἔριδα ξυνάγοντες Αρηος.

V. 315. This ſpeech of Satan to his unhappy followers is full of art. He firſt re-minds them of their ancient worth and dignity; then tries by raillery to rouſe them out of their trance, and ſhake off their aſtoniſhment. This he enforces upon them by the imminent danger they were in while in this poſture of dejection, of which (ſays he) ſhould our conqueror once take the advantage, he might fix us here for ever, while we, in our preſent ſituation, could make no reſiſtance.

PURSUERS] This is conſiſtent with what we have remarked formerly (2), That Satan, to avoid acknowledging the victory as due to the Meſſiah alone, falſely ſpeaks of numerous purſuers, or elſe that their terror

(1) Il. xiv. 147. (2) V. 170.

Th' advantage, and deſcending tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
Tranſfix us to the bottom of this gulph.
Awake, ariſe, or be for ever fall'n.

They heard, and were abaſht, and up they ſprung
Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
On duty, ſleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouſe and beſtir themſelves ere well awake.
Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
Yet to their general's voice they ſoon obey'd
Innumerable. As when the potent rod

made them believe they were purſued by millions of angels, while in reality there was no ſuch thing.

TRANSFIX] Strike through and rivet us to the bottom of this lake of fire. Virgil has deſcribed the death of Ajax (who was ſtruck with lightning) by a ſimilar phraſe,

" Illum expirantem TRANSFIXO
" PECTORE flammas
" Turbine corripuit, ſcopuloque in-
" fixit acuto.

TO THEIR GENERAL] This phraſe of OBEYING TO A VOICE, tho' now obſolete, yet is uſed by Milton in imitation of our ancient poets. Chaucer in his legend of women,

That as an harp obeyeth to the hand.

And Spencer (1),

Lo now the heavens obey to me a-
lone.

And it is an expreſſion of the ſame kind with the Latin, DICTO AUDIENTES DUCI. C. Nepos. Iphicrat. c. ii.

SIMILE OF LOCUSTS] The paſſage Milton alludes to is Exod. x. v. 15. where Moſes gives a circumſtantial account of the hurt done by

(1) B. iii. c. 11. 35.

Of Amram's ſon in Egypt's evil day

theſe miſchievous inſects to the country of Egypt. If we examine the writings of prophane authors, we ſhall find them deſcribed in the ſame manner as Moſes and our poet after him have done. Thus Pliny (1), "Solem obumbrant ſollicite ſuſpectantibus populis, ne ſuas operiant terras. Sufficiunt quoque vires, et tanquam parum ſit maria tranſiſſe immenſos tractus permeant, diraque meſſoribus contegunt nube, multa contactu adurentes, omnia vero morſu rodentes, et fores quoque tectorum." And Jerome in his commentary upon Joel (2), "Judaei putant in diebus Joel tam innumerabilem locuſtarum ſuper Judaeam veniſſe multitudinem, ut cuncta complerent; et non dicam fruges, ſed ne vinearum quidem et arborum cortices, ramoſque dimitterent." The reader will find a very long collection of every thing relating to thoſe inſects by the learned Bochart in his Hierozoicon (3), where he has diſtinguiſhed them into different ſpecies; ſome of which are not capable of doing hurt. Of this laſt kind are thoſe mentioned by Surius (4), when ſpeaking of the locuſts in Poland, "Hae tanta multitudine provolarunt, ut duo milliaria in longum et latum cubito tenus ita occuparunt, ut ſolis quoque ſplendorem a toto illo terrae ſpatio ſua denſitate excluderent." We ſee from this, that it is not by a poetical licence Milton ſays they hung LIKE NIGHT over Egypt, but that in fact it is ſo. To the ſame purpoſe is what Juſtin tells of theſe inſects (5), "Locuſtarum etiam in Africa multitudinem prodigiis ſimilem litteris mandaverunt. Conſumptis enim fructibus, foliiſque lignorum ingenti atque inaeſtimabili nube in mare dicunt eſſe dejectam." The inſpired writers generally draw their ſimiles from them, when they talk of a multitude. Thus in the book of Judges (6), when ſpeaking of the multitude of the Midianites, 'They came as locuſts for multitude,' and by the ſame author in another place (7), they are deſcribed as 'lying along in the valley like locuſts.' The moderns who have mentioned thoſe creatures, give us the ſame idea of their immenſe numbers. Barbat in his deſcription of the iſles of Cape Verde (8), has the following words, 'Paſſing by the coaſt of Zanhaga, we ſaw the ocean overſpread in ſeveral places with an infinite multitude

(1) Lib. ii. c. 29. (2) Cap. i. (3) P. ii. lib. 4. c. 1. (4) Ann. 1541. (5) De C. D. l. iii. c. 31. (6) C. vi. 5. (7) C. vii. 12. (8) Church H. Voyag. vol. v. p. 539.

Wav'd round the coaſt, up call'd a pitchy cloud
Of locuſts, warping on the Eaſtern wind,

'of very ugly, red and winged graſhop-
'pers, or locuſts, as big as a man's little
'finger, and a long body lying on the
'ſurface of the water.' He adds, 'that
'in the year 1672, a multitude of
'theſe locuſts came into the province
'of Aulnix in France, where they de-
'voured all that was green to the ve-
'ry root, and being carried to ſea
'by the winds from Rochel, towards
'the Iſle de Rhee, I ſaw a ridge of them
'dead above a foot deep on the beach,
'extending ſeveral leagues in length,
'as they had been thrown up by the
'waves, and left there at low water.'
Beauplan in his deſcription of the Ukrain (1) informs us, that they are often brought out of Tartary by the Eaſterly winds, into the country about Novogorod, in ſuch numbers, that there are clouds of them ſeen flying in the air, five or ſix leagues in length, and two or three in breadth. Our poet has not unfitly compared the wicked ſpirits to locuſts, as well upon account of the miſchief theſe creatures are ſaid to do, as for their multitudes. Perhaps too he might have in his eye that paſſage of the Apocalypſe, where St. John deſcribes the fiends riſing out of the bottomleſs pit in the figure of locuſts (2), Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ ἐξῆλθον ΑΚΡΙΔΕΣ εἰς τὴν γῆν. Perhaps this detail on the locuſts might have been ſpared, as theſe noxious inſects are like to become but too familiar of late to a great part of Europe. Q. Calaber has compared the Trojans going out to battle to locuſts in the ſame manner (3),

——τοὶ δ' ἐπέχυντο
Ακρίσι προβάλοισιν ἐναλίγκιοι αἵ τε φέρονται
Ως νέφος, ἢ πολὺς ὄμβρος ὑπὲρ χθονὸς εὐρυπέδοιο
Απληκλοι, μεροπίσσιν ἀεικέα λιμὸν ἄγυσαι.

"——Hi autem effundebantur
"Locuſtarum frugivorarum inſtar,
"quae feruntur
"Ut nubes vel imber ſuper terram
"latipatentem
"Innumerabiles, tetram hominibus
"famem allaturae.

It is very plain Milton has applied this ſimile more accurately than the Greek poet, as the angels were repreſented always with wings and moving in the air (4).

WARPING] A ſea-term ſignifying TO WORK FOREWARDS. War-

(1) Church h. Voyag. vol. v. p. 539. (2) Rev. ix. 3. (3) Παρ. L. ii. 195, Vide Il. xxi. 12. where Homer compares the Trojans flying to locuſts,

Ως δ' ὅθ' ὑπαὶ ῥιπῆς πυρὸς ἀκρίδες ἠερίθονται
Φευγέμεναι πολεμόνδε——

(4) Revelat. ix. 3.

That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile:
So numberleſs were thoſe bad angels ſeen
Hovering on wing under the cope of hell
'Twixt upper, nether, and ſurrounding fires;
Till, as a ſignal giv'n, th' uplifted ſpear
Of their great Sultan waving to direct
Their courſe, in even ballance down they light
On the firm brimſtone, and fill all the plain;
A multitude, like which the populous North 351

ping ſignifies alſo BENDING, and then our poet's meaning may be that this vaſt cloud of locuſts were ſeen aloft in the air, bending hither and thither, according as they were driven by the winds.

EASTERN WIND] So Moſes tells us that the Eaſt wind brought the locuſts into Egypt (1), that is to ſay, they came from Arabia, which lies to the Eaſt of Egypt. (The learned Bochart (2), inſtead of the Eaſt wind, reads, AUSTER, the South wind, after the Greek verſion Νοτος, and ſo he brings the locuſts from Ethiopia, where they are generally very numerous. But there is no occaſion for this alteration in the text.)

SULTAN] This is an Arabick, or Turkiſh word ſignifying Lord or Emperor according to Leunclavius (3), who ſays the firſt who took this title was Tangrolipix, after defeating the Saracens about the year 1055, tho' others call it a Perſian word, and that it was in uſe long before Tangrolipix, being found upon an ancient medal of Choſroes king of Perſia, who reigned about the year 540. It is alſo by ſome ancient authors wrote Soldan, as Milton has done V. 764.

FIRM BRIMSTONE] This he had before deſcribed to be what (4)

——ever burn'd
WITH SOLID, as the lake with liquid fire.

V. 351. Milton has in view that paſſage of the Danube by the Goths,

(1) Exod. x. 13. (2) Hieroz. P. ii. l. 4. c. 3. (3) Pand. Hiſt. Tyr. p. 399. (4) V. 229.

Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to paſs
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous ſons
Came like a deluge on the South, and ſpread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian ſands. 355

when they over-run part of the Roman empire in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius. Thus Paulus Diaconus tells us (1), " Eodem tempore " erant Gothi, et aliae gentes multae " et maximae trans Danubium habi- " tantes. Gothi——iſti ſub Arcadio " et Honorio Danubium tranſeuntes, " locati ſunt in terra Romanorum." Theſe were originally Scythians or Sarmatians, as Grotius proves (2), under their general Alarick they made ſuch a prodigious ſlaughter of the Romans, that Procopius thinks this ſufficient to account for the ſmall number of men then left in Italy (3). A little before this Radagaiſus, another general of theſe barbarous nations, had over-run all Italy. Zozimus ſays (4), that his army conſiſted of four hundred thouſand men, tho' Oroſius makes them but half that number (5). Theſe, together with their general, were entirely deſtroyed by Stilico, about the year 405. Yet theſe barbarous nations ſtill continued to pour in vaſt numbers on the Roman empire. About the ſame time the Goths made themſelves maſters of Spain, and inhabited that country till the year 710, when they were invaded and conquered by the Moors, under the command of Taric, who landed firſt at the place now called Gibraltar, which is a corruption of the Mooriſh Gibel-Tarick, ſignifying the Mountain of Taric, the Mooriſh general's name.

DANAW] This is not the common way of pronouncing this name, but ſeems borrowed from the German DONAW, for ſo they call the Danube. It is the greateſt river in Europe, riſes in the county of Barin Swabia, and after a courſe of 1500 miles empties itſelf into the Euxine.

V. 355. The Goths having conquered and eſtabliſhed themſelves in Spain, they from thence invaded Africa, under their general Geiſericus, with an army of eighty thouſand men, and by degrees made themſelves maſters of a great part of the country. This happened in the year 427, according to Petavius.

(1) Miſcell. Hiſt. (2) Prol. Hiſt. Goth. p. xvi. Petav. P. i. lib. 6. c. 14. Rat. Tempor. (3) Hiſt. Vandal. l. i. (4) Lib. v. (5) Hiſt. l. vii. c. 37.

Forthwith from every ſquadron and each band
The heads and leaders thither haſte where ſtood
Their great commander; godlike ſhapes and forms
Excelling human, princely dignities,
And powers that erſt in heaven ſat on thrones;
Though of their names in heav'nly records now
Be no memorial, blotted out and raz'd
By their rebellion, from the books of life.

Beneath] That is to the South of; an expreſſion ariſing from the common poſition of charts and globes, in which the North is always uppermoſt and the South below. And ſo the ſailors ſay a place is in a high latitude, when it is far North.

Lybian sands] Properly ſpeaking, Lybia is but a part of Africa, however we find this name uſed to denote the whole country. Thus Virgil (1),

" Ipſe ignotus, egens Lybiae deſer-
" ta peragro
" Europa, atque Aſia pulſus.——

Godlike] So Homer frequently gives his heroes, whether good, or wicked, the epithet Θεοείκελος, or Θεοειδής, Godlike (2),

——ἀγαθός περ ἐὼν θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ.
—Ἀλεξανδρος θεοειδής.

Plato has the following obſervation upon this epithet (3), Τὸ φύσει δίκαιον, ᾗ καλὸν, ᾗ σῶφρον ——ὃ δὴ ᾗ Ομηρος ἐκάλεσεν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγγιγνόμενον, θεοειδές τε, ᾗ θεοείκελον. " Convertunt oculos ad " illud natura juſtum et pulchrum et " temperans —— quas quidem (vir- " tutes) in hominibus, Homerus vo- " cat Deo ſimiles." This may be true in ſome inſtances, but certainly in moſt places of his poem, Homer means by it the outward dignity, ſtrength, and form of the body, as in the verſes above quoted. And in this ſenſe our poet here uſed it.

Books of life] This expreſſion is taken from the Apoſtle John (4), who repreſents God as promiſing that he will not blot the names of the righteous out of the books of life. The ſame metaphorical ex-

(1) Aen. i. 388. (2) Il. i. 132. (3) De Rep. l. vi. p. 501. Edit. Steph.
(4) Rev. iii. 5.

Nor had they yet among the ſons of Eve
Got them new names, till wandring o'er the earth,
Through God's high ſufferance for the trial of man,
By falſities and lies the greateſt part
Of mankind they corrupted to forſake
God their creator, and th' inviſible
Glory of him that made them, to transform
Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd

preſſion is uſed by Moſes (1), when intreating that God would not deſtroy the Iſraelites, he adds, 'But if not, blot 'me out of the book which thou haſt 'written.' In the ſame manner the Pſalmiſt prays, ſpeaking of the wicked (2), 'Let them be blotted out of the book 'of the living, and not be written with 'the righteous.' Daniel (3) promiſes deliverance to thoſe, 'who ſhall be 'found written in the book.' Plautus has an expreſſion very like this (4),

"Qui falſas lites falſis teſtimoniis
"Petunt, quique in jure abjurant
"pecuniam,
"Eorum referimus NOMINA EX-
"SCRIPTA ad Jovem.
"Bonos in alias tabulas EXSCRIP-
"TOS habet.

The Grecians called an undoubted witneſs, Ἐκ τῶν Διὸς δελτῶν ὁ μαρτύς. "Ex "Jovis tabulis teſtis." (Thus Lucian, Εἴ τις εἶπε μοίχον ἢ παιδεράστην, τυτὸ ἐκεῖνο ἐκ τῶν Διὸς δελτῶν ὁ μαρτὺς (5). "Si "quis te adulterum aut paderaſten "dixerit, is protenus ex Jovis tabu-"lis teſtis.")

V. 370. This is what the Scripture calls, 'To change the glory of the in-'viſible God into the image of a 'beaſt.' This the Iſraelites did when they forced Aaron to make them a molten calf.

ADORN'D] Adorn'd is here uſed in the ſenſe of the Latin ORNATUS, Honour'd, revered with rich and ſplendid religious ceremonies. Thus Cicero uſes it (6), "Or-

(1) Exod. xxxii. 32. (2) Pſ. cxxxix. 16. Pſ. lxix. 28. (3) C. xii. 1. (4) Prol. Rudent. v. 13. (5) De his qui mercede ſerviunt. (6) Ad Fam. l. ii. ep. 15.

With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
And devils to adore for deities;
Then were they known to men by various names,
And various idols, through the Heathen world. 375
Say, Muſe, their names then known, who firſt, who laſt,

" nari honore, dignitate, eximia lau-
" de."

Religions] Not in the ſenſe we commonly uſe the word religion, but to expreſs the Latin religio, Any particular piece of religious worſhip or ceremony, as in the ſecond Aeneid Priamus asks Sinon concerning the wooden horſe,

" —— Quae Religio? aut quae ma-
" china belli? Vide v. 151.

V. 374.--376. Then] He had ſaid juſt before, that their ancient names had been razed out of the heavenly records: therefore till after the fall of man they had no new names, but then they got thoſe by which they are here mentioned. Milton judiciouſly conſiders, that the names by which he diſtinguiſhes the rebellious angels, generally carry with them a bad ſignification; and therefore could not be ſuppoſed applicable to them in their ſtate of innocence and glory.

Various idols] In the moſt ancient accounts of the Pagan religion we find that in the beginning of idolatry they had no images in their temples. This was the caſe among the Egyptians, who are univerſally reckoned the firſt inſtitutors of religious ceremonies. They had no idols in their temples, as Lucian informs us (1), Τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτιοισι ἀξόανοι νηοὶ ἦσαν, and Varro cited by Auguſtine (2) ſays, that the Romans for more than 170 years after the foundation of Rome had no images in their temples. This cuſtom however is certainly very ancient, tho' Euſebius (3) makes it no older than Moſes' age, in whoſe time, ſays he, Cecrops king of Athens firſt formed images. Pauſanias tells us (4), that before this time, the Greeks worſhipped ſtones which were unhewen. Τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ελλησιν τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλματῶν ἔχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι. Agreeably to this Euſebius (5) obſerves, that of old pillars were ſet up and adored inſtead of images; as does Clemens Alexandrinus (6), Κιόνας ἱσάντες οἱ πα-

(1) De Deo Syr. (2) C. D. l. iv. c. 36. (3) Chron. l. ii. (4) In Achaic. p. 441. (5) Praep. l. i. (6) Strom. l. i. p. 548. d. Sylburg.

Rouz'd from the ſlumber, on that fiery couch,

λαιοὶ ἴσεσον τύτυς ὡς ἀφιδρύματα τῦ Θεῦ. They afterwards begun to make them in a human figure, and Harpocration aſſerts that Daedalus firſt ſeparated the legs of the images, Πρώτος ἀνεπέτασεν ϗ τῦς πόδας διεσήσεν. It muſt be obſerved that all theſe authors ſpeak of the idolatry of the Greeks only: but it is plain from Moſes' writings, that idols were common among the Canaanites at the time the Iſraelites took poſſeſſion of their country, and conſequently long before we have any certain accounts of the Grecians or their idolatry: ſo that there is no incongruity in what our poet here ſays, that they were known by particular idols, as well as by particular names very early.

376. Say Muse] The poet here again demands the aſſiſtance of the Muſe, as being to treat of a ſubject obſcure and perplexed. We find other poets having recourſe anew to the muſes even in the middle of their ſong, upon any extraordinary emergency. Thus Virgil being to enumerate the different auxiliaries of Turnus (1),

" Pandite nunc Helicona, Deae, can-
" tuſque movete,
" Qui bello exciti reges? quae quem-
" que ſecutae
" Complerint campos acies? ——

as Homer has done, before he begins his catalogue of the ſhips (2),

Εσπεῖε νῦν μοὶ, Μῦσαι Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχυσαι,
Τμεῖς γὰρ Θεαὶ ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστε τε πάντα,
Ημεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκύομεν ὐδέ τι ἴδμεν,
Οἵτινες ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν ϗ κοίρανοι ἦσαν.

Say virgins! ſeated round the throne divine,
All-knowing Goddeſſes, immortal nine,
Since earth's wide regions, heaven's unmeaſur'd height,
And hell's abyſs hide nothing from your ſight,
(We wretched mortals, loſt in doubts below
But gueſs by rumour, and but boaſt we know)
Oh ſay! what hero's fir'd by thirſt of fame,
Or urg'd by wrongs, to Troy's deſtruction came. Pope.

After their example, Q. Calaber, when about to give us the names of thoſe heroes who entered the wooden horſe, again invokes the aſſiſtance of the muſe (3),

Τύς μοι νῦν καθ' ἕκασον ἀνειρομένῳ σάφα Μῦσαι
Εσπεθ' ὅσοι κατέβησαν ἔσω πολυχανδέος ἵππυ,
Τμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσαν μοὶ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θήκατ' ἀοιδήν.

" Quos mihi nunc exquirenti, Muſae perſpicue

(1) Aen. vii. 641. (2) Il. ii. 484. (3) Lib. xii. 302.

At their great emperor's call, as next in worth
Came ſingly where he ſtood on the bare ſtrand,
While the promiſcuous croud ſtood yet aloof?
The chief were thoſe who from the pit of hell
Roaming to ſeek their prey on earth, durſt fix
Their ſeats long after next the ſeat of God,
Their altars by his altar, Gods ador'd
Among the nations round, and durſt abide
Jehovah thundring out of Sion, thron'd

" Recenſete, quotquot in capacem
" equum conſcenderunt;
" Nam vos omnigenum animo meo
carmen indidiſtis.

And Statius, when about to enumerate the forces that came againſt Thebes (1),

" Pande viros, tuque ô nemoris
" regina ſonori
" Calliope, quas ille manus, quae
" moverit arma
" Gradivus, quantas populis ſolave-
" rit urbes,
" Sublata molire lyra ——

The chief] Milton calls the Syrian idols the chief of the rebellious ſpirits, becauſe theſe are the firſt we have any account of in the early ages of the world; it being generally agreed, that idolatry began in the Eaſt, and was by degrees brought Weſtward to Greece and Italy.

To seek their prey] In alluſion to that expreſſion of Scripture, The devil 'who goeth about like a 'roaring lion ſeeking whom he may 'devour.'

Jehovah] This is that peculiar and expreſſive name of God, ſignifying Eſſence and Eternity, well explained by St. John (2), ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. It is therefore judiciouſly uſed here by our poet, in contradiſtinction to the idols he is about to ſpeak of in the following verſes. Le Clerc and ſeveral other commentators think that this name was not known till God pronounced it to Moſes, when about to ſend him as his meſſenger to the Iſraelites (3). This

(1) Theb. l. iv. 34. (2) Rev. i. 4. (3) Exod. iii. 15.

Between the cherubim; yea, often plac'd
Within his ſanctuary itſelf their ſhrines,

they would prove from Exod. vi. 3. where God ſays that he did not make himſelf known to Abraham, Iſaac, or Jacob by this name. This appellation of God was by the Jews had in ſuch reverence, that they uſed always to pronounce the word ADONAI in ſtead of it; and the Septuagint in their tranſlation always ſubſtitute the word κύριος, or Lord, in its place. In ſpite of the care the Jews took to conceal this name under that of ADONAI, it became known to the Heathens, tho' corrupted and changed into that of Ιαῦω, or Ιαῦη. Thus Diodorus Siculus ſays (1) that Moſes made the God called Ιαω, the author of the laws he promulgated, Τὸν Ιαω ἐπικαλούμενον θεὸν, and Sanchoniathon is ſaid to have received his account of the Jews παρὰ Ιερομβάλου τοῦ ἱερεως θεοῦ τοῦ Ιεῦω, from Hierombalus the prieſt of the God called IEUO (2).

THUNDRING] Milton ſeems here to have alluded to theſe words of the prophet Jeremiah (3), 'The Lord 'ſhall roar from on high, and utter his 'voice from his holy habitation.' The prophet Joel has a ſimilar expreſſion, (4) 'The Lord alſo ſhall roar out of 'Zion.'

THRON'D] Our poet here alludes to the deſcription of the oracle in Solomon's temple, which was ſo placed, that the wings of the cherubim overſpread the ark (5): it will be needleſs for us to enquire here of what form the cherubim were. If any one deſire to examine the different opinions upon this ſubject, he will find them in Spencer de LL. Mos. (6), and in Le Clerc's commentary upon Exodus (7). The prophet Ezekiel has deſcribed them (8) as having the ſhapes of different animals, but whether theſe made by Moſes and Solomon were of the ſame kind, is not ſo eaſy to determine. It would indeed ſeem moſt probable they were not. But to return. Milton ſeems to have taken this expreſſion from that prayer of King Hezekiah, where he addreſſes the Deity in the following words (9), 'O Lord 'God of Iſrael which dwelleſt between 'the cherubims.' So alſo Pſ. xcix. 1. 'He ſitteth between the cherubims.'

WITHIN HIS SANCTUARY] Milton here alludes to what we are told of the wicked prince Manaſſes (10), that he built altars for all the hoſt of heaven in the two courts of the houſe of the Lord.

(1) L. i. pag. 59. (2) Euſeb. Προ. l. i. c. 9. (3) C. xxxv. 30. (4) C. iii. 16. Amos c. i. 2. (5) 1 Kings viii. 67. (6) L. iii. Diſſ. v. c. 3. (7) C. xxv. 18. (8) C. x. 20. (9) 2 Kings xix. 15. (10) 2 Kings xxi. 5.

Abominations; and with curſed things
His holy rites, and ſolemn feaſts profan'd,
And with their darkneſs durſt affront his light.
Firſt Moloch, horrid king beſmear'd with blood

Abominations] Accurſed or deteſtable things. Thus the word is uſed by Moſes(1), but we find it more particularly in the ſenſe of our poet, viz. of idols in the following paſſage (2), 'Solomon built an high place for Chemos the abomination of Moab, and for Moloch the abomination of the Children of Ammon.

Affront] This word here carries a ſtronger idea than it generally has. It is here placed in the ſenſe of the Italian affrontare, to meet face to face, or to brave. Thus the Academy della Cruſca explain it, "Affrontare, propriamente "aſſaltare il nemico a fronte." Our poet has uſed this word in the ſame ſignification in his Sampſon Agoniſtes,

I walk'd about, admir'd of all and dreaded,
On hoſtile ground none daring my affront.

'Tis thus that Shakeſpear (3),

That he, as 'twere by accident, may here
Affront Ophelia——

Moloch] It is juſtly remarked by Mr. Addiſon, that Milton excells particularly in the conſiſtency of his characters: here is one great inſtance of it: Moloch is ſaid to be delighted with the blood of human ſacrifices, and parents tears. In the following book (4) he is marked out as the fierceſt ſpirit that fought in heaven; and the figure he makes in the ſixth book is altogether of a piece with the former deſcriptions (5),

And with fierce enſigns pierc'd the deep array
Of Moloch furious king, who him defy'd
And at his chariot wheels to drag him bound
Threatned, nor from the Holy One of heaven
Refrain'd his tongue blaſphemous--

He is alſo the firſt in the aſſembly who riſes to give his opinion upon their preſent poſture of affairs. He declares himſelf abruptly for war; and appears incenſed at his companions for loſing ſo much time as even to deliberate u-

(1) Lev. xviii. 22. (2) 1 Kings xi. 7. (3) Hamlet Act iii. (4) V. 44. (5) V. 356. 109.

Of human ſacrifice, and parents tears,
Though for the noyſe of drums and timbrels loud
Their childrens cries unheard, that paſt through fire

pon it. All his ſentiments are raſh, audacious, and deſperate.

Drums] The Rabbi's tell us, that when they celebrated theſe inhuman ſacrifices to Moloch, they made uſe of drums to drown the cries of the wretched victims. But it would ſeem that drums (at leaſt ſo large as they now are) were not in uſe ſo early. Theſe were firſt brought into Spain by the Moors, from whom the Europeans learned to uſe them.

Past through fire] Milton cautiouſly avoids that diſpute, whether theſe children were really burnt in honour of this idol, or if they only paſſed thro' the fire in ſuch a manner that their lives were preſerved. However it ſeems pretty plain that they were actually burnt alive, from the paſſages quoted in the margin (1).

Our poet however keeps religiouſly to the words of the ſacred text, as we have them Levit. xviii. 21. 'Thou ſhalt not let any of thy ſeed PASS 'THROUGH THE FIRE to Mo-'loch.' The Septuagint indeed tranſlate this place by a word which ſignifies TO WORSHIP in general, λατρευειν, but this is a miſtake in the reading of the Hebrew text. The learned Spencer (2) thinks this was only a luſtration by fire, even after he had owned that the Syrians ſacrificed human victims: but his reaſons are weak, for it is well known, that the phraſe TO PASS THRO' THE FIRE generally in Scripture means, the entire conſumption of the victim. It would ſeem more probable that this interpretation of Spencer's flowed from the humanity of interpreters, who could not imagine ſuch a piece of horrid cruelty to have exiſted in the world; tho' in this they ſeem to have the whole voice of ancient hiſtory, both ſacred and prophane againſt them. The reader may ſee the proofs of this aſſertion in the authors here quoted (3). They argue that this paſſing through fire did not imply death, ſince Achaz is ſaid (2 Kings xvi. 6.) to have made his ſon paſs through the fire. Now this ſon was Hezekiah who

(1) 2 Chron. xxviii. 4. Jer. vii. 31. C. xxxii. 25. C. xix. 5. Pſal. cvi. 37, 38. Ezek. xvi. 20. (2) De LL. Moſ. l. ii. c. 10. (3) Pſ. cvi. 37, 38. Jerem. xix. 5. Ezek. xvi. 20. 23. 37. Porphyr. de Abſt. l. ii. Selden. Syn. i. c. 6. Rhodog. Lect. Ant. l. xiii. c. 23. Gyr. Synt. xvii. Voſſius de Idol. l. ii. c. 5. Saur. Diſcourſ. vol. iii. diſ. 15.

afterwards ſucceeded him. But it is anſwered, that there is nothing to make us believe that Achaz had but one ſon, nay we are told the contrary (2 Chron. xxviii. 3.) where it is ſaid plainly, that he BURNT HIS CHILDREN IN THE FIRE, i. e. SOME OF HIS CHILDREN. It is more probable, that this phraſe, To PASS THROUGH THE FIRE, was invented by theſe impious ſacrificers to Moloch, to diſguiſe the horror of the fact, that the victims were really conſumed by fire.

This inhuman practice of ſacrificing children was not confined to Canaan alone, but we find other nations on great emergencies having recourſe to the ſame rite of barbarous ſuperſtition. Philo Byblius tells us (1), Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδύνων, &c. "Mos erat antiquis, ut in magnis calamitatibus, periculiſque pro omnium exitio, qui dominabantur urbi et genti, cariſſimum liberorum darent mactandum diis ultoribus." Agreeably to this we find the king of Moab, when beſieged in his capital by the Jews (2), ſacrificing his eldeſt ſon upon the wall. Juſtin, and Plato, Polit. p. 315, edit. Steph. inform us, that the Carthaginians ſacrificed men in the ſame manner (3), "Cum inter caetera mala, etiam peſte laborarent (Carthaginienſes) cruenta ſacrorum religione, et ſcelere pro remedio uſi ſunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant, et impuberes — aris admovebant." This fact too is atteſted by Euſebius (4), who gives us ſeveral other inſtances of the ſame barbarity. Lactantius (5) accuſes the Cyprians, Scythians, Gauls, and Latins, as all guilty of this crime. To theſe we may add the Athenians, who, as Aelian tells us (6), ſacrificed three virgins by order of the Delphic Oracle, Μὴ ἄν ἄλλως σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἢ μὴ ἐκεῖναι σφαγισθεῖεν, There being no other way to preſerve the city but by their death. (7) Euripides ſays that the Diana who was worſhipped in Tauris had human victims offered to her (8),

Αὐτὴ δὲ θυσίαις ἥδεται βροτοκτόνοις.

And Tacitus tells us (9), that the Germans ſacrificed to their Mercury in the ſame manner. Ennius has mentioned the Pelaſgi ſacrificing their children to Saturn.

"Ille ſuos Deiveis mos ſacrificare puellos."

Varro (10) gives the following reaſon for this practice, "Quia omnium ſeminum optimum eſt genus humanum."

(1) Apud Euſeb. Pr. lib. 1. c. 10. (2) 2 Kings iv. 27. (3) Lib. xviii. 6. (4) Pr. l. iv. c. 16. (5) Div. Inſt. l. i. c. 21. (6) Var. Hiſt. l. xii. c. 28. (7) Adde Hygen. Fab. xlv. Apoll. Bib. l. iii. c. 14. (8) Iphig. in Taur. V. 384. (9) De More Germ. (10) Ap. Auguſt. de C. D.

To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
Worſhipt in Rabba and her watry plain,
In Argob and in Baſan, to the ſtream

Nor was this inhuman worſhip confined to the Eaſtern and Weſtern regions of the world; we find it in thoſe furtheſt North. Thus Saxo Grammaticus (1), " Fro quoque Deorum " Satrapa ſedem haud procul Upſula " cepit, ubi veterem litationis mo- " rem —— triſti infandoque piaculo " mutavit. Siquidem humani generis " hoſtias mactare aggreſſus, foeda ſu- " peris libamenta perſolvit." The ſame author in another place (2) gives us a more diſmal inſtance of the effects of this ſuperſtition, " Haqui- " nus perſpectis copiis—ſuperos inu- " ſitato piaculo propitiandos curavit. " Duos ſiquidem praeſtantiſſimae in- " dolis filios, hoſtiarum more aris ad- " motos, potiundae victoriae cauſa, " nefaria litatione mactavit." The firſt who was worſhipped with this bloody ceremony among theſe Northern nations, is believed to have been Othinus a celebrated magician, who after his death was honoured as a deity, and thought to preſide over war. Thus Olaus Magnus (3), " Othinum " qui bellis praeſidebat, cruore et " morte captivorum placabant, opi- " nantes bellorum praeſidem aptius " humano cruore placari."

Ammonite] The deſcendants of Lot by his youngeſt daughter (4). The ſacred text informs us they worſhipped Moloch. (1 Kings xi. 7.)

Rabba] A city beyond Jordan, capital of the kingdom of the Ammonites, beſieged by Joab, and taken by David, as we are told (2 Sam. xi. and xii.) Milton here calls the plains about this city watry, which epithet he has from the Scripture (5), where Rabba is called 'the city of waters.' Hence Joſephus relating how the city was taken by Joab (6), ſays that this was done by intercepting the waters, Υδατῶν αὔτυς ἀποτεμνόμενος.

Argob] The country ſo called which was under the command of Og, lying beyond Jordan from the river Arnon to mount Chermon; it was allotted to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manaſſeh, as we ſee in the Pentateuch (7).

Basan] We are told in Scripture that this country too made a part of the kingdom of Og (8), ſince called Batanaea, lying about the rivulet called

(1) Hiſt. Dan. lib. iii. (2) Lib. x. (3) De. Gent. Septen. l. iii. c. 3. (4) Gen. xix. 38. (5) 2 Sam. xii. 27. (6) Ant. l. vii. c. 9. (7) Deut. iii. 12. (8) Numb. xxi. 33.

Of utmoſt Arnon. Nor content with ſuch
Audacious neighbourhood, the wiſeſt heart
Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
His temple right againſt the temple of God
On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove

Jabbok, and ſo Southward towards Chesbon. The fertility of this country was very remarkable, and hence we ſee it was allotted to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, whoſe riches conſiſted in cattle (1). We find too the cattle fed upon theſe plains, mentioned in Scripture as the beſt in Judaea (2). And by Jerome (ad Amos iv.) "Vacas pingues de armento ſe eſſe noverint, ſive quae nutriantur in paſcuis Baſan, quae ſunt loca herbarum fertiliſſima."

Outmost Arnon] Arnon was a rivulet riſing out of the mountains of Moab, and running to the Weſtward, divided the Moabites and the Emoraeites, after which it empties itſelf into the lake Aſphaltites. Thus Joſephus (3), Ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας, &c. "Ex Arabiae montibus ortum ducens, et per totum deſertum fluens, in paludem Aſphaltiten evolvitur." The deſert here mentioned is that of Arabia. Milton calls it outmost in the ſame ſenſe that Homer calls Anthedon, a city lying upon the borders of Boeotia Ἀνθηδόνα' ἰσχάλοωσαν, Outmoſt Anthedon, as after him Theocritus has Καυκάσον ἰσχατοιήν. Idyl. vii. 74. Arnon was the boundary of the territory of Moab (4), as it afterwards was of the tribes of Reuben and Gad (5).

Solomon] Our poet alludes to what is recorded of this prince, that in his old age he built a high place for Moloch upon the hill which is oppoſite to Jeruſalem (6). The hill here ſpoken of ſeems to be that which was afterwards called the Mount of Olives oppoſite to the Temple. Biſhop Patrick obſerves (7), that Solomon choſe this place for his idolatrous worſhip, being afraid to profane the city itſelf, tho' his poſterity afterwards did.

That opprobrious hill] Thus it ſhould be read, and not the opprobrious hill, as it is in ſome late editions. The univerſal cuſtom of

(1) Numb. xxxii. 4. (2) Deut. xxxii. 14. Pſ. xxii. 13. (3) Ant. l. iv. c. 4. (4) Numb. xxi. 13. (5) Deut. iii. 16. (6) 1 Kings xi. 7. (7) Comment.

Paganism was to place their temples, but especially their altars upon high grounds, or mounts. We see this custom prevailed among the Jews, by the frequent complaints of the prophets against it, and Herodote (1) informs us, that the Persians used the same rite, Οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, "Moris est iis altissima montium ju-"ga adscendentibus Jovi sacra face-"re." And Xenophon tells us (2), that Cyrus sacrificed Διΐ τε πατρῴῳ, καὶ Ἡλίῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρῶν, ὡς Πέρσαι θύουσι. Homer speaks of the temple of Minerva as being in the highest place of the whole town (3), or the citadel, and Jupiter speaking of Hector (4),

—ὅς μοι πολλὰ βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρί' ἔκηεν
Ἰδης ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπίδακι ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
Εὐ πόλει ἀκροπάτῃ——

Hector——
Whose grateful fumes the Gods receiv'd with joy
From Ida's summits, and the tow'rs of Troy. POPE.

And in the hymn to Apollo, said to be Homer's, he thus addresses that Deity (5),

Πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τε φίλαι, καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι
Τψηλῶν ὀρέων——

"Omnes speculae (tibi) carae, et ver-"tices summi
"Altorum montium——

Grove] The custom of planting groves in which they worshipped and offered sacrifices to their divinities, was very common among the ancient Heathens: so Homer (Odyss. vi.) mentions Αλσος Αθηνης, a grove dedicated to Minerva of poplar trees among the Phaeacians, and another near the chief town of Ithaca, which he calls Αλσος παντότε κυκλοτερὲς (6), of an orbicular form. That these sacred places might not be prophaned by the approach of the vulgar, it was usual to inclose them either with a hedge, or wall. So Pausanias tells us (7) of the grove of Diana (Αρτεμιδος Σωτειρας) inclosed by a wall, within which none but the priests went. The priests sometimes used to lodge in these groves. Thus Ulysses says that Maron the priest of Apollo dwelt within his grove (8),

—ᾤκει γὰρ ἐν ἄλσεϊ δενδρήεντι
Φοίβου Απόλλωνος——

Lucan has described one of these groves consecrated to religious worship in the following verses (9),

"Lucus erat longo nunquam viola-"tus ab aevo
"Obscurum cingens connexis aëra "ramis,
"Omnis et humanis lustrata cruori-"bus, arbos:
"Si qua fidem meruit Superos mi-"rata vetustas,

(1) Lib. i. c. 131. (2) Cyrop. l. viii. (3) Il. vi. (4) Il. xxii. 170. (5) V. 144. (6) Odyss. xvii. (7) Achaic. p. 463. (8) Odyss. ix. 200. (9) Lib. iii. 399.

" Illis et volucres metuunt insistere
" ramis,
" Et lustris recubare ferae: nec ven-
" tus in illas
" Incubuit sylvas——
" Ipse situs, putrique facit jam robo-
" re pallor
" Attonitos. Non vulgatis sacrata
" figuris
" Numina sic metuunt; tantum ter-
" roribus addit
" Quos timeant non nosse Deos.—

Their veneration for these shades went so far, that it was thought the highest pitch of impiety to cut down, or otherwise violate the sacred trees. We see that Gideon was condemned to death for cutting down a grove consecrated to Baal (1); and Lucan represents Caesar's soldiers as afraid to violate the grove he had been describing.

" Sed fortes tremuere manus, moti-
" que verenda
" Majestate luci si robora sacra feri-
" rent,
" In sua credebant redituras mem-
" bra secures.

To the same purpose are the following verses of Callimachus (2),

Τέκνον ὅστις τὰ θεοῖσιν ἀνειμένα δένδρεα κόπτεις,
Τέκνον ἐλίννυσον, τέκνον πολύθεστε τοκεῦσι
Παύεο, ϗ θεράποντας ἀπότρεπε, μή τι χαλεφθῇ
Πότνια Δαμάτηρ τᾶς ἱερὸν ἐκκεραΐζεις.

" Fili quicunque Diis consecratas ar-
" bores incidis,
" Fili desiste. Fili multum exoptate
" parentibus
" Cessa, et famulos averte, ne suc-
" censeat
" Diva Ceres, cujus sacrum tu diri-
" pis.

Moses on the contrary, to shew his utter detestation of idolatry, orders the Jews to cut down those groves every where (3), to destroy even the vestiges of idolatry, and prevent the Jews, who might be ensnared by the beauty of those places, from falling into the like crimes. Pliny speaking of woods (4), "Haec fuere numinum tem-"pla, priscoque ritu simplicia rura eti-"am nunc Deo praecellentem arborem "dicant. Nec magis auro fulgentia at-"que ebore simulacra, quam lucos, et "in iis silentia ipsa adoramus." Seneca has a thought of the same kind (5), "Si "tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus, et "solitam altitudinem egressis, fre-"quens Lucus illa proceritas sylvae, "et secretum loci, et admiratio um-"brae fidem numinis facit." The poets, historians, and orators are full of instances of the sacred veneration paid to groves, and even single trees. Maximus Tyrius mentions the Celtae worshipping an oak as the image of Jupiter (6), Κέλτοι σεβοῦσι μὲν Διὰ,

(1) Judg. vi. 30. (2) Hymn. in Cer. V. 47. (3) Deut. vii. 5. (4) Lib. xii. c. 1. (5) Epist. xli. (6) Serm. xxxviii.

The pleaſant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the type of hell.
Next Chemos, th' obſcene dread of Moab's ſons,

ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κιλλικον, ὕψηλη δρυς, and Quintus Curtius ſpeaking of the Indians (1), "Deos putant, quicquid "colere coeperunt, ARBORES MA-"XIMAE, quas violare capitale eſt," and Tacitus in his treatiſe De Moribus Germ. "Lucos et nemora con-"ſecrant, Deorumque nominibus ap-"pellant." We ſee by ſome decrees of the general councils (2), that it was with difficulty this cuſtom was aboliſhed even by Chriſtianity itſelf, and travellers aſſure us, that ſome veſtiges of this ſuperſtition are ſtill to be met with among the Laplanders and Finlanders.

HINNOM] This valley is mentioned by Jeremiah as the place where they ſacrificed their children to Moloch (3); it lay to the South-Eaſt of Jeruſalem, as we are told in Scripture (4). In this valley was placed the ſtatue of Moloch, which the reader may ſee deſcribed by Saurin in his Diſcours ſur la Bible, (vol. iii. p. 460. edit. in octavo.) Who this Hinnom was, we are no where told in Scripture.

TOPHET] Thus it is called by the prophet Jeremiah (cap. vii. 31.) and probably, (as Biſhop Patrick ſuppoſes) from the cymbals, and other noiſy inſtruments, made uſe of at the ſacrifices to drown the cries of the ſufferers, as the word itſelf ſignifies an inſtrument of that kind.

GEHENNA] This word is derived from the Hebrew GEE-HINNOM, i. e. The VALLEY OF HINNOM. Others deduce it from another Hebrew word ſignifying TO CRY OUT, or ROAR through exceſſive pain. Being a place ſet apart for the celebration of theſe terrible ſacrifices to Moloch, it was looked upon as the image of hell itſelf, and ſo came to be uſed to ſignify that place of torment. Thus our Saviour applies it (5), when he ſays, 'The ſinner ſhall be caſt εἰς τὴν 'γέενναν τῦ πυρός.' Dr. Lowthe, in his commentary upon Iſaiah (6), thinks the prophet had this typical figure in his view, when he ſays, 'Tophet is 'ordained of old.'

CHEMOS] This was the Deity of the Moabites, as Moſes tells us (7). Mr. Hyde derives this name (De Relig. Vet. Perſ. cap. v.) from an Arabian word ſignifying A GNAT,

(1) Lib. viii. c. 9. (2) Apud Burchard. Decret. lib. x. (3) C. vii. 31. (4) Joſh. xv. 8. Vide Euſeb. onomaſt. voce Γαιεννομ. (5) Matth. xviii. 9. (6) C. xxx. 33. (7) Numb. xxi. 29. 1 K. xi. 7.

From Aroar to Nebo, and the wild
Of Southmoſt Abarim; in Heſebon
And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond

Chemos being thought to drive away theſe inſects, as among the Accaronites, Bahal-zebub was called the God of Flies for the ſame reaſon. But it would ſeem more probable, that Chemoſch was a name given to the ſun, the origin of the word in Arabick ſignifying SWIFTNESS. This idol was worſhipped with all ſorts of obſcenities, as Voſſius has proved at large (1), and hence Milton calls him, 'The 'obſcene dread of Moab's ſons.' The Moabites in Scripture are called the people of Chemos (2), as the Iſraelites the people of God, from their religious worſhip. Milton here ſeems to adopt that derivation of the name of this idol, by which it ſignifies TO FEAR, by his calling him, The DREAD of Moab.

AROAR] Or rather Aroer. This city is deſcribed as ſituated upon the river Arnon (3), being part of the dominions of Sichon king of the Emorraeites, which extended from Arnon to the river Jabbok.

NEBO] A hill to the Eaſtward of Judaea, whence Moſes viewed the Promiſed Land (4). This mountain had ſeveral different names, being ſometimes called Nebo, ſometimes Piſgah (5), and ſometimes Abarim (6), or rather theſe were different cliffs of the ſame mountain, and called by different names.

WILD OF ABARIM] Milton here means that range of hills bordering upon the deſart of Arabia to the South-Eaſt of Judaea, and therefore he calls it Southmoſt Abarim. (Jerome tells us that this was the mountain in which Moſes died (7), "Aba-"rim mons in quo mortuus eſt Moy-"ſes. Dicitur autem et mons eſſe "Nabau, in terra Moab, contra Hie-"richo, ſupra Jordanem, in ſuper-"cilio Phaſga.")

HESEBON] Or Chesbon, one of the cities belonging to Sihon king of the Amorites, whence he had driven out the Moabites, as Moſes tells us (8).

HORONAIM] Thus it ſhould be wrote, and not Heronaim, as ſome of the later editions have it. This was another town of the Moabites, as we are told by Jeremiah (9). Our poet here deſcribes that tract of country

(1) De Idol. l. ii. c. 7. (2) Jerm. xlviii. 45. (3) Deut. iv. 48. Joſh. xii. 2. (4) Deut. xxxiv. (5) Deut. iii. 27. (6) Numb. xxvi. 12. (7) Loc. Hebraic. (8) Numb. xxi. 26. (9) Jer. xlviii. 3.

The flowry dale of Sibma clad with vines,
And Eleale to the Aſphaltick pool.
Peor his other name, when he entic'd

poſſeſſed by the Moabites, which lies to the Eaſt of Jordan, having Piſgah to the North, and the river Arnon as its boundary upon the South, reaching Weſtward to the Dead-Sea, or Aſphaltick pool, as Milton calls it.

SIBMA] So it is called by Moſes, (Numb. xxxi. 38.) It was a city of Moab, and made a part of the poſſeſſion of the tribe of Reuben: thus Jerome (1), "Sebama, civitas Moab in "terra Galahad, quae cecidit in ſor-"tem tribus Reuben." Milton diſtinguiſhes it by its peculiar fruitfulneſs in vines, which we find often mentioned in Scripture. Thus Iſaiah (2), 'For the fields of Hesbon languiſh, 'and the vine of Sibma.' And Jeremiah (3), 'O vine of Sibma, I will 'bewail thee.'

ELEALE] Another city of the Moabites, ſituated to the South of Sibma, rebuilt by the Reubenites, as Moſes tells us (4).

ASPHALTICK POOL] This is that famous lake, where formerly, as is uſually ſaid, the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah ſtood. Our poet calls it here by the Greek name Ασφαλτος, ſignifying Pitch or Bitumen, the waters of this lake being of a black, thick, pitchy conſiſtence. It is in Scripture ſometimes called 'The ſea of the plain (5), and 'The ſea of Sodom.' Prophane writers call it the Dead-Sea. Thus Pauſanias (6), Θαλασσαν νεκραν. Tacitus gives the following account of it, "Lacus immenſo ambitu, ſpecie ma-"ris, ſapore corruptior, gravitate o-"doris accolis peſtifer, neque vento "impellitur, neque piſces aut ſuetas "aquis volucres patitur. Incertae "undae ſuperjacta, ut ſolido ferun-"tur." Joſephus and Strabo give the ſame account of it (7). Dr. Pocock in his travels (8) confirms the truth of that extraordinary property of theſe waters, that no living bodies will ſink in them, having tried the experiment himſelf by ſwimming. He agrees with Diodorus Siculus' account of the length and breadth of this ſea (9), who makes it 62 miles long, and about 7 broad. The Dr. aſſerts this to be a juſter account of its bigneſs, than thoſe of Joſephus, Strabo, or Pliny, who make it larger.

PEOR] This was his more ordina-

(1) Loc. Hebr. (2) C. xvi. 8. (3) C. xlviii. 32. (4) Numb. xxxii. 37. (5) Deut. iii. 27. (6) Lib. iv. (7) Ant. l. i. c. 9. Strabo l. xvi. p. 764. (8) Vol. ii. c. 9. (9) Lib. xix. p. 734. edit. Rhodom.

ry name, as we may gather from the words of the prophet Jeremiah (1), where the name Chemoſch ſeems to be given to this idol in deriſion. We find a place in the territory of Moab, called Beth-Pechor, or The HOUSE OF PEOR, upon the South of Arnon, near to where it falls into the Lake of Sodom. The Pſalmiſt (2) makes particular mention of the worſhip the Iſraelites paid him, 'They joined themſelves to Baal-Peor, (ſays he) and did eat the ſacrifices of the dead.' Probably he had this name of Pehor from a mountain ſo called, (vide Suid. voce Βεελφεγωρ) whence Balak deſired Balaam to curſe the Iſraelites, and ſo his name may ſignify LORD OF THE MOUNTAIN, either becauſe it was cuſtomary with thoſe Eaſtern nations to worſhip their idols upon hills conſecrated to their honour, or elſe Baal-Pehor may ſignify his ſtatue made of one entire ſtone like a pillar, which was the moſt ancient form of ſtatues erected in honour of the Gods. Thus Sanchoniathon, cited by Euſebius, (3) tells us, that one Uſous, a native of Tyre, ſet up two pillars to the Fire and Winds that he adored, and ſacrificed to them, Ανιερῶσαι δυὸ στήλας πυρί τε, καὶ πνευμάτι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, ἅμα τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὧν ἤγρευε θηρῶν. The ſame author adds, that theſe people uſed afterwards to adore theſe columns, and celebrate feaſts to their honour, Τὰς στηλὰς προσκύνειν, καὶ τούτοις ἑορτὰς ἄγειν. Jacob is ſaid to have erected a pillar, and poured oil on it, in memory of the viſion he was favoured with, and the vow he made to God at Bethel (4); and tho' it be certain that he did not this with any intention of worſhipping the ſtone, yet it is very likely he took the hint of ſetting up a pillar from this cuſtom obſerved by the Cananaeans and Phoenicians among whom he was. Clemens of Alexandria informs us, that the Greeks had a ſimilar rite, which in all probability they had from the Phoenicians (5), Παυλὰ λιθόν λιπαρὸν ἐπροσκύνουν, "Omnem pinguem lapidem adorabant." To this Arnobius alludes (6), "Quando conſpexeram lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivi unguine ſordidatum, tanquam ineſſet vis praeſens adulabar, adfabar." The Phoenicians called theſe anointed pillars BAETULIA, believing that the power of the Divinity was preſent in theſe ſtones, and that they were ſometimes ſeen to move. Thus Sanchoniathon (7), Επινοησε Θεὸς Οὐρανος BAITTAIA, λίθους ἐμψύχους ποιησάμενος. "Invenit Deus Coelus Baetulia, lapidibus animatis factis." Damaſcius tells us, that in his time, there were many of

(1) C. xlviii. 7, 13. (2) Pſ. cvi. 28. (3) Παρ. lib. i. c. 10. (4) Gen. xxviii. (5) Stromat. lib. vii. (6) Adv. Gent. lib. i. (7) Ap. Euſeb. ubi ſupra.

Israel in Sittim on their march from Nile
To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarged

these Baetulia about mount Libanus in Syria (1), Κατὰ τὴν Ηλιυπόλιν Σύριας εἰς ὄρος τὸ τῦ Λιβανὺ τὸν Ασκληπιαδὴν ἀνελθειν, καὶ ἰδειν πολλὰ τῶν λιγομένων Βαιτυλιων, ἢ Βαιτύλων. From what we have said it would appear probable, that this idol of the Moabites was one of these Baetyli, especially as the original of the word Phehor among the Arabians, signifies to separate, or divide, and so this idol was a stone divided and separated to be set up by itself. Jerome will have this Syrian idol to have been the same with the Latin Priapus, "Ipsi autem Isra-"elitae [says this father (2)] educti ex "Aegypto, fornicati sunt cum Madia-"nitis, et ingressi sunt ad Baelphegor, "idolum Moabitarum, quem nos Pri-"apum possumus appellare." Probably Jerome took this from the Rabbi's, who by their descriptions of this idol, make him nearly the same with the Roman Priapus; which supposition Vossius has laboured to establish (3), tho' after all he seems still to doubt of it, and the learned Selden has rejected this hypothesis altogether (4).

SITTIM] This was in the territories of Moab, lying to the South of the Dead-sea. Moses has given us the history of the transaction here alluded to by our poet (5).

ORGIES] The ceremonies called ORGIA generally signified those celebrated in honour of Bacchus. Thus Virgil (6),

"—sacra Deûm, nocturnaque OR-
"GIA Bacchi.

And again (7),

"—ubi audito stimulant trieterica
"Bacchi
"ORGIA——

But sometimes (as in this place) they signify ceremonies used in honour of any other Deity. Thus Servius explains the word (8), "Sane scien-"dum, Orgia apud Graecos dici sa-"cra omnia, sicut apud Latinos Cae-"remoniae dicuntur. Sed jam abu-"sive sacra Liberi, Orgia vocantur." In the same manner, the Greek word Οργιαζειν signifies in general, To perform religious ceremonies of whatever kind; and thus Catullus uses the word ORGIA, when speaking of the Eleusinian mysteries (9),

(1) Ap. Phot. Cod. 242. (2) Oseae c. ix. (3) De Idol. l. ii. c. 7. (4) Synt. i. c. 5. (5) Num. c. xxv. (6) G. iv. 521. (7) Aen. iv. 303. (8) Ad Aen. iv. (9) Ep. 65.

Even to that hill of ſcandal, by the grove
Of Moloch homicide, luſt hard by hate;
Till good Joſiah drove them thence to hell. 418
With theſe came they, who from the bordring flood
Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts

" Pars obſcura cavis celebrabant Or-
" gia ciſtis,
" Orgia quae fruſtra cupiunt audire
" prophani.

And Ariſtophanes calls the ceremonies of the muſes Orgia (1),

Η γενναίων Οργια μυσῶν μήτ' ἰδε πω —

And in another place, the rites of Venus are called Orgia (2),

Τοῖς τῆς Αφροδίτης Οργίοις ἐλημμένον.

HILL OF SCANDAL] The Mount of Olives, as we have already obſerved (3). The Vulgate Latin tranſlates it MONS OFFENSIONIS, which anſwers to Milton's hill of ſcandal.

V. 418. We have this recorded 2 Cron. cap. xxxiv.

BORDRING FLOOD] The Euphrates runs on the Eaſt of Syria, in which Judaea lyes, and hence the poet calls it the Bordering flood. He terms it too, OLD EUPHRATES, this name being given by Moſes (4) long before moſt other rivers in the world were diſtinguiſhed by particular appellations.

BROOK] This is the river called Sihor, riſing out of the deſart of Beerſabe, and falling into the Mediterranean, where the city of Rhinocorura formerly ſtood, which was ſituated to the Northward of Sihor. It is often marked in Scripture as one of the boundaries of the Promiſed Land. Thus 1 Kings (5), 'From Hamath 'to the river of Egypt,' which by no means can be underſtood of the Nile, as Le Clerc and ſome other commentators have thought, Solomon's territory having never reached to the Nile, as is well known. In another place it is mentioned as one of the boundaries of the country poſſeſſed by the Philiſtins (6), 'From Sihor which is 'before Egypt, to the borders of Ek-'ron Northward.' Thus we have ſhewed what our poet means by this brook or river, according to Cellarius' geography (7). Milton here de-

(1) Βατ. 359. (2) Lyſ. 832. (3) Note V. 403. (4) Gen. ii. 14.
(5) C. viii. 65. 2 Chron. vii. 8. (6) Joſ. xiii. 3. (7) Lib. iii. c. 13.

Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
Of Baalim and Aſtaroth, thoſe male,
Theſe feminine. For ſpirits when they pleaſe

ſcribes that large tract of country lying between the Euphrates on the Eaſt, and the head of the Mediterranean on the Weſt, comprehending the whole country which went by the general name of Syria.

GENERAL NAMES] Thus the ſacred hiſtorian calls the idols which the Jews worſhipped at that time, by the general names of Baalim and Aſtaroth (1). In the words immediately following, he explains what he means by this expreſſion, viz. the Gods of Syria, Zidon, Moab, and thoſe of the children of Ammon, and the Gods of the Philiſtins, comprehending all thoſe different idols under the general deſignation of Baalim and Aſtaroth, or the Deities of the male and female ſex. We find the ſame general expreſſion uſed in another place (2), 'They forſook 'the Lord, and ſerved Baal and Aſta-'roth.' All the critics agree, that Aſtaroth, or Aſtarte, was the name of a female Deity, and probably the ſame with the Αφροδιτη, or Venus of the Greeks. Thus Philo Byblius cited by Euſebius (3), Τὴν δὲ Ασταρτην Φοινικὶς τὴν Αφροδιτην εἶναι λεγοῦσι. 'The Phoenicians 'ſay that Aſtarte is the ſame with 'Venus.' It is beſides certain, that the worſhip of this idol came originally from Phoenicia into Greece, where her votaries gave themſelves up to all manner of wickedneſs (4), as did the Babylonians when performing the rites of their Goddeſs Milytta (probably the ſame with Aſtarte) as Herodote tells us (5).

BAALIM] This is the plural of the word Baal, LORD. Under this name many of the Eaſtern nations worſhipped the ſun, as Voſſius has proved at large (6). Baalim being the plural number, is here uſed to ſignify the other heavenly luminaries in general, as in theſe words of the ſacred hiſtorian (7), 'He reared up altars 'to Baalim, and ſerved all the hoſt of 'heaven.'

ASTAROTH] Our poet has theſe words of Scripture in his view, 'They 'forſook the Lord, and ſerved Baal 'and Aſtaroth (8).' As there were many Baals, (Bahal-Samen, Bahal-Pehor, Baal-Tſephon, &c.) ſo there were different idols in different places, called Aſtarte, or Aſtaroth.

(1) Judg. x. 6. (2) Judg. ii. 13. (3) Παρ. l. i. c. 10. (4) Seld. Syntag. iv. c. 4. et 7. (5) Lib. i. c. 199. Vide Selden. Synt. ii. c. 2. (6) De Idol. l. ii. c. 4. (7) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3. (8) Jud. x. 6.

Can either ſex aſſume, or both; ſo ſoft
And uncompounded is their eſſence pure,
Not ty'd or manacl'd with joint or limb,
Nor founded on the brittle ſtrength of bones,
Like cumbrous fleſh; but in what ſhape they chuſe

The greateſt part of the commentators think that as under the name of Baal they worſhipped the ſun, ſo under that of Aſtarte, or Aſtoreth they paid honour to the moon. We ſhall have occaſion to examine this further below.

V. 424. This opinion of Milton's is very ancient, viz. That ſpirits can transform themſelves into any ſhape they pleaſe, whether of the one or other ſex. It has been much diſputed whether they have any bodies or not. Philo in his treatiſe De Ling. confuſ. (1), calls the angels Ψυχῶν ἀσωμάτων ἱερώτατον χόρον, "Animarum incorporearum ſacratum chorum." Of the ſame opinion were the ancient fathers of the church, Nazianzen (2), Gregory Nyſſen (3), Chryſoſtome (4), and Theodoret (5). But others maintain that they have certain vehicles, or bodies in which they appear, which opinion our poet follows. Beda has diſtinguiſhed thoſe bodies of ſpirits from ours, in the following manner (6), "Corpora (angelorum) ſunt "ita ſubtilia, quae ſenſu percipi non "poſſunt, unde reſpectu corporum "noſtrorum, quae ſpiſſa ſunt et craſſa, ſpiritus dicuntur, quemadmodum aër, quamvis corpus ſit, tamen "propter ſubtilitatem ſui, ſpiritus vocatur." Tertullian has a paſſage to the ſame purpoſe (7), "Conſtat angelos, carnem propriam non geſtaſſe, ut puta naturae ſpiritalis, et "ſi corporis alicujus, ſui tamen generis, in carnem autem humanam "transfigurabilis ad tempus, ut videri et congredi cum hominibus poſſint." And Macarius (8), Ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἰδιαν φύσιν σῶμά ἐστιν, &c. "Unumquodque pro natura ſua corpus eſt. — Licet enim haec corpora "tenuia ſint, nihilominus in ſubſtantia, charactere et repraeſentatione "pro ſubtilitate naturae ſuae, corpora ſunt ſubtilia." Agreeably to theſe notions has Milton here ſaid

(1) Fol. 234. edit. Turneb. (2) Orat. ii. de Theolog. (3) De vita Moſis. (4) Orat. i. de providentia. (5) In Gen. quaeſt. 36. (6) Lib. i. de Elem. Philoſ. (7) De carne Chriſti c. vi. (8) Homil. iv.

Dilated or condens'd, bright or obſcure,

that ſpirits can aſſume any form they pleaſe.

BRIGHT OR OBSCURE, &c.] Agreeably to what the Apoſtle ſays, that the devil ſometimes transforms himſelf into an angel of light. The daemons, or ſpirits Milton here ſpeaks of, were thought not only to have influence on mens actions, but ſometimes to perform things themſelves above the reach of human power. To this purpoſe Lactantius (1), "Daemones venerantur quaſi terreſtres "Deos, et quaſi depulſores malorum——qui quoniam ſunt ſpiritus "tenues, et incomprehenſibiles, inſinuant ſe corporibus hominum, et "occultè in viſceribus operati valetudinem vitiant, morbos citant, "ſomniis animos terrent; mentes furoribus quatiunt." And again, "Hi "ſpiritus contaminati, ac perditi, per "omnem terram vagantur, et ſolatium perditionis ſuae perdendis hominibus operantur. Itaque omnia "inſidiis, fraudibus, dolis, erroribus "complent. Adhaerent enim ſingulis hominibus, et oſtiatim omnes domos occupant."

Socrates' daemon, which, as he ſaid, continually attended him, is well known. Menander aſſerts, that every man at his birth has an attendant good genius or ſpirit (2), but diſowns a bad one.

Απαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται
Εὐθὺς γινομένῳ μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου
Αγαθὸς· κακὸν τὸν δαίμονα δ' νομιστέον
Εἶναι, βίον βλάπτοντα πολλὰ χρηστόν· πάντα γὰρ
Δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν ΘΕΟΝ.

Horace, on the contrary, mentions both, Ep. ii. l. 2. ver. 188.

"—Genius, natale comes qui temperat aſtrum
"Naturae DEUS humanae, mortalis in unum
"quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, ALBUS et ater.

Heſiod calls them Φυλάκες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων (3), The guardians of mortal men. We find ſome traces of this in Scripture. Thus Michael is repreſented as the guardian angel of the Jews (4); and another angel is called the prince of the kingdom of Perſia (5). The ancient Pagans believed that every city alſo had its particular Genius. Thus Symmachus, as his words are cited by Prudentius (6),

"—Sicut variae naſcentibus, inquit,
"Contingunt pueris animae; ſic urbibus adfert
"Hora dieſque ſuum, cum primum moenia ſurgunt

(1) Div. Inſt. l. ii. c. 14. (2) Clem. Alex. Strom. v. (3) Εργ.
(4) Dan. xii. 1. (5) Dan. x. 13. (6) L. ii. 71.

Can execute their airy purpoſes,
And works of love or enmity fulfill.
For thoſe the race of Iſrael oft forſook
Their living ſtrength, and unfrequented left
His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
To beſtial Gods; for which their heads as low
Bow'd down in battle, ſunk before the ſpear
Of deſpicable foes. With theſe in troop
Came Aſtoreth, whom the Phoenicians call'd

" Aut fatum, aut genium, cujus mo-
" deramine regnent.

And Dio informs us (1), that at Rome they had a temple conſecrated to the Genius of the people. Nay, it was thought that every private perſon ſacrificed to his particular Genius. Thus Horace (2),

"——Cras Genium mero
" Placabis, et porco bimeſtri.

V. 431. It has been thought, that under theſe general expreſſions, Milton conceals his meaning relating to the actions of theſe daemons, called by the anciens Incubi and Succubae; but I am far from thinking, that a poet of Milton's profeſſed purity, would ſo much as hint ſuch a thing in a work of this kind (3).

V. 435. To confirm what Milton here ſays, we need only read the rapid conqueſts of Joſhua in the hiſtory of his life, and compare it with the relation we have of the misfortunes of the Jews in the book of Judges, where we find, that all the petty princes about Judaea oppreſſed them, when they forſook the law of God, and committed idolatry.

Astoreth—Astarte] The whole deſcription, here given by our poet, of this idol of the Sidonians, is extremely poetical, and exactly agreeable to the accounts of her with which ancient hiſtory has furniſhed us. Under this name they worſhipped the moon: thus Sanchoniathon (4) tells us, that the Phoenicians and Syrians

(1) Lib. l. (2) L. iii. Od. 17. (3) Vide Auguſt. Civ. Dei. lib. xv. c. 23.
(4) Ap. Euſeb. π. L. i. c. 10.

Aſtarte, queen of heaven, with creſcent horns;

called the moon Aſtarte, making her the daughter of Heaven, or Οὔρανος. He adds, Η δὲ Ασαρτη ἐπιθῆκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ, βασιλῆας παρασῆμον, κεφάλην ταύρου. "Aſ-"tarte capiti ſuo, tanquam regni in-"ſigne, tauri caput impoſuit. The hei-fers horns ſeem to have been deſigned to repreſent the moon when waxing, in the ſame manner as the figure of Iſis among the Egyptians, which had alſo horns. Thus Herodote (1), Ισιος ἄγαλμα, ἰὸν γυναικήιον· βύκερών ἐστι, κάταπερ Ελληνες τὴν Ιῶν γράφουσι, "Iſidis ſi-"mulachrum muliebre eſt, bubulis "praeditum cornibus, ſicut Graeci Io "deſcribunt." Phylo Byblius and Suidas make Aſtarte the ſame with the Graecian Venus, Ασαρτὴ, ἣ παρ' Ελλησιν Αφροδιτὴ λεγόμενη (2). We cannot have any better or ſurer account who this Syrian idol was, than from Lucian, who was himſelf a Syrian; here are his words, Ενι δὲ ἄλλο ἱερον ἐν Φοινικῇ μεγὰ, τὸ Σιδῶνιοι ἔχουσι, ὃς μὲν αὐτοι λέγουσι, Ασαρτὴς ἐστι. Ασάρτην δ' ἔγω δοκέω Σελήναν ἐμμέναι. "Eſt et aliud templum in "Phoenicia quod Sidonii habent, at-"que uti ipſi dicunt, eſt Aſtartes. Aſ-"tarten autem ego puto lunam eſſe." Milton agrees with Lucian in making her the moon, and in this ſenſe ſhe is called (as by our poet) "The queen "of heaven" by Jeremiah (3). The reader will find abundant proofs of the truth of Milton's hypotheſis in Voſſius De Idol. (4), and in Selden's Synt. de Diis Syriis (5), which the bounds of theſe notes will not admit of. The whole Phoenician theology concerning thoſe two Deities, Baal, and Aſtoreth, or Aſtarte, ſeems to be compriſed in this, that they imagined the ſun to be the male, and the moon the female, as we find this Deity always mentioned by a female deſignation; and Philo calls the moon Μητέρα τῦ κοσμῦ, The mother of the univerſe.

This Phoenician idol was worſhipped with all ſorts of impurities, and the prophet Hoſea is thought to allude to this lewd and impious worſhip, when he upbraids the Jews with their ſacrificing with harlots (6). According to this we are told, that among the Byblians, who were particularly devoted to the worſhip of Aſtarte and Adonis, theſe women who refuſed to cut off their hair in token of their grief for the death of Adonis, were obliged to be proſtitutes for ſome time. Thus Lucian (or whoever is the author of the treatiſe De Dea Syria) Γυναῖκων ὅκοσαι οὐκ ἐθελῦσι ξυρίσασθαι, τοῖνδε ζημιὴν ἐκτελεῦσι, &c. "Quaecunque mu-

(1) L. ii. c. 41. (2) Gen. H. vol. i. p. 399. not. i. Cic. Nat. Deor. lib. iii. (3) C. vii. 18. (4) Lib. ii. c. 21. (5) Synt. ii. c. 2. (6) C. iv. 14.

To whose bright image nightly by the moon
Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs,
In Sion also not unsung, where stood
Her temple on th' offensive mountain, built
By that uxorious king, whose heart though large,

" lieres nolunt tonderi, hanc mul-
" ctam solvunt. Diem unum ad quaes-
" tum corpore faciendum prostant
" Forum autem illud solis peregrinis
" exhibetur; et quod inde mercedis au-
" ferunt; id pretium in Veneris sa-
" crificium datur." Eusebius gives the same account of the inhabitants of Heliopolis, a town of Phoenicia (1), Τὴν τῆς ἀφροδίτης καὶ ἀκόλαστον πορνείας αὐτῶν, &c. " Si reputes nefandae et ef-
" frenis libidinis eorum flagitia, quae
" etiamnum hodie Heliopoli Syriae
" admittuntur, et etiam alibi. Adul-
" teria, corruptelas, et illicitos alios
" coitus in honorem Deorum, quasi
" debitum quidpiam oportere solvi ai-
" unt." The same infamous rites were observed in the worship of the Goddess Mylitta, which was the Venus of the Assyrians, as Herodote informs us (2), Καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, Μυλίττα. He gives us a particular account of the ceremonies in that book (3), which were performed much in the same way with these mentioned by Lucian.

SIDONIAN] Sidon, an ancient city of Phoenicia, lying to the Northward of Judaea, upon the head of the Mediterranean. Lucian informs us, that tho' Astarte was worshipped in many places, yet that the richest temple erected to her honour was at Hierapolis, a town near Laodicea, in that neighbourhood (4).

UXORIOUS KING] This epithet is justly given to Solomon, who had seven hundred wives, and three hundred concubines. UXORIOUS here signifies DOATINGLY FOND, in the same sense as Horace calls the Tiber, UXORIUS AMNIS (5); the sacred historian tells us, that it was by their means he was induced to commit idolatry,

—not deceiv'd,
But fondly overcome by female charm,

as our poet speaks (6).

LARGE] This is taken from the words of Scripture (7) " And God
' gave Solomon wisdom and under-
' standing exceeding much, and

(1) H. l. iv. c. 16. (2) L. i. 131. (3) C. 99. (4) De Dea Syria. (5) Lib. i. Od. 2. (6) B. ix. 998. (7) 1 K. iv. 29.

Beguil'd by fair idolatreſſes, fell
To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,

'LARGENESS OF HEART.' We find the breaſt among the Latins frequently uſed to ſignify wiſdom, becauſe there the ſeat of the heart. Thus Ovid (1).

" Dii quoque habent oculos, dii
" quoque pectus habent."

And again (2),

" Nec levis ingenuas pectus coluiſſe
" per artes."

They uſed the phraſe, SINE PECTORE, to ſignify a rude and ſtupid mind. Thus Paris writing to Helen calls Menelaus, " Hominem ſine pectore" (3), and Horace, when commending his friend Tibullus (4),

" Non tu corpus eras SINE PEC-
" TORE——

And Ennius, in Cicero Tuſc. Queſt. lib. i. c. 1.

" Egregie cordatus homo catus Ae-
" lius Sextus.

And Lucretius lib. v. lin. 1106.

" Ingenio qui praeſtabant et COR-
" DE VIGEBANT.

'THAMMUZ] Our poet here makes Thammuz and Adonis one and the ſame perſon. In this he follows Jerome, who in his commentary upon Ezekiel (5), and his letter to Paulinus, De Inſtitut. Monachi, affirms theſe two names to be thoſe of one and the ſame Deity. The Alexandrian Chronicle ſays the ſame, Θαμεθ, ὅπερ ἡρμηνεύεται Ἀδωνίς (6), and Procopius (7), Θαμμοὺς ὅπερ ἔστι τὸν Ἀδώνιν. Adonis was thought to have been the favourite of Venus, and killed by a wild boar while he was hunting. This is Ovid's (8) and Bion's account of him (9). Lucian (10) has given us a particular account of the manner in which the inhabitants of Byblos, a town in Phoenicia, mourned Adonis. There was (ſays this author) a general mourning, to repreſent the grief of Venus for the death of Adonis. They ſhaved their heads, and went about ſcourging themſelves. Such of the women as refuſed to ſhave their heads, were obliged to proſtitute themſelves publickly for one day, and make an offering to Venus of what they gained by this infamous commerce. Having thus continued their lamentations for one day, upon the next, they ſhewed all ſigns of joy, on the ſuppoſition that Adonis was revived again from death. Plutarch (in Alcibiade et Nicia) mentions this mourning for Adonis; Ariſtophanes (11) calls it Ἀδωνίασμος, which Heſychius ex-

(1) Amor. iii. El. 3. (2) Art. Amand. l. ii. (3) Ap. Ovid. Epiſt. Heroic. (4) Lib. i. Epiſt. 4. (5) C. viii. (6) P. 130. edit. Du Cange. (7) Ad Iſ. xvii. (8) Met. x. 525. (9) Idyll. i. (10) De Dea Syr. (11) Lyſiſt. 390.

Whoſe annual wound in Lebanon allur'd

plains, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἄδωνι θρῆνος, "Planctus "ob Adonidem." Macrobius has given us (1) a curious phyſical explication of the fable of Adonis, making him the ſun, Venus that hemiſphere of the earth where we live, where the ſun continues during his courſe thro' ſix ſigns of the zodiac; but upon winter's coming on, Adonis, or the ſun, goes from us, and then Venus, or the earth, mourns. But the moſt probable account of the origin of this ſtory would ſeem to be, that Adonis was the ſame perſon with Oſyris (2) king of Egypt, who being wounded by a boar, while hunting, was thought to be dead, till recovering of his wound, his people made great rejoicings for his ſafety. We learn from Suidas (3) that Adonis and Oſyris were the ſame perſon, and hence Theocritus (4) places the feaſt of Adonis in Egypt. The reader may ſee ſeveral more proofs of this collected by Le Clerc (5). Hottinger has given us a collection of the opinions of the Rabbi's concerning this feaſt in honour of Adonis, in his account of the religion of the ancient Arabs (6), which agrees exactly with what our poet here ſays of it.

Annual wound] This feaſt of Adonis was celebrated once every year, as we have ſeen (in the preceeding note.) Thus Bion in his elegy upon Adonis,

Δᾶ σὶ πάλιν κλαῦσαι, πάλιν ὡς ἴτος ἄλλο δακοῦσαι.

"Poſt flebis, luctuſque novum reno-
"vabis in annum.

and Ovid Met. (7),

"——repetitaque mortis imago
"Annua plangoris peraget ſimula-
"mina noſtri.

We may ſuppoſe the ſongs they ſung upon this occaſion were ſomewhat like Bion's elegy upon the death of Adonis, which begins thus,

Αἰάζω τὸν Ἄδωνιν. Ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις.

Ὤλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις. ἐπαιάζουσιν Ἔρωτες.
Μηκέτι πορφυρέοις ἔνι φάρεσι, Κύπρι, κάθευδε.
Ἔγρεο δειλαία Κυανοστόλε, καὶ πλατάγησον
Στέρνα, καὶ λέγε πᾶσιν, Ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις.

"Te lamentor, Adoni, jacet formo-
"ſus Adonis;
"Pulcher Adoni, jaces, moeſtorum
"luctus amorum,
"Exue purpurea mollem cum veſte
"ſaporem,
"Moeſta Venus, ſurge, et lugubria
"pectora plange,

(1) Sat. i. c. 21. (2) G. H. vol. i. p. 400. not. S. (3) Voce Ἡραισκος. (4) Idyll. 15. (5) Biblioth. Univerſ. tom. iii. p. 7. (6) Hiſt. Orient. l. i. c. 8. (7) Lib. x.

The Syrian damſels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a ſummer's day,
While ſmooth Adonis from his native rock

" Et cunctis memora, Periit formo-
" ſus Adonis.

We have another of theſe hymns in Theocritus (1), and his 30th Idyllion is a ſort of epigram upon the boar which killed Adonis. Such we may imagine were the hymns ſung upon this occaſion.

Lebanon] The largeſt mountain in Syria, or rather a chain of mountains taking their riſe near Damaſcus, and ſtretching quite to the Mediterranean. In prophane hiſtory it is called Libanus. It was in the foreſts of this mountain where Adonis was killed (2).

Summer's day] Our poet is very exact even in the minuteſt circumſtances of ancient fable. Here is a ſtrong inſtance of it. He ſays it was in Summer that the ceremonies in honour of Adonis were celebrated. Thus R. Moſes, cited by Selden (3), " Et " conſuetum eſt quotannis in princi-
" pio diei menſis Thammuz lamenta-
" ri et flere ſuper Thammuz." The month Thammuz anſwers to the Latin June. Hottinger obſerves, that the ancient Zabians, in the fourth month (according to their reckoning) or Thammuz, celebrated a feſtival which they called Albukat (4), and which Hottinger tranſlates, " Feſti-
" vitas mulierum plorantium." This (as he afterwards obſerves) is the ſame with the feſtival of Adonis.

Smooth Adonis] The river Adonis, mentioned by Pliny (5), riſes out of the mountain Libanus, and falls into the Mediterranean to the South of Byblos, where Adonis' feaſt was celebrated every year. It is ſaid to have turned to a bloody colour annually upon the day of the celebration of the feſtival. This Lucian acquaints us with in his account of the Syrian Goddeſſes (6), Ποτάμος ἐκ τῦ Λιβάνυ τῦ ὄρεος — ὄνομα Ἀδῶνις ἐπίκεται, &c. " Fluvius ex Libano monte fluit,
" cui nomen Adonis. Hic quotannis
" cruore inficitur, amiſſoque colore
" in mare delabitur, magnamque pe-
" lagi partem cruentat, tempuſque lu-
" gendi Bybliis indicat. Fabulantur
" autem Adonim hiſce diebus in Li-
" bano ſauciari, unde in aquam dela-
" tus ſanguis, fluvii colorem mutat."
Mr. Addiſon has taken notice of Maundrell's account of this phoenomenon in his travels, his words are

(1) Idyll. xv. (2) Lucian de Dea Syr. (3) Synt. ii. c. 11. (4) Hiſt. Orient. l. i. c. 8. (5) L. v. c. xx. (6) P. 880. vol. ii. edit. Ben.

Ran purple to the ſea, ſuppos'd with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
Whoſe wanton paſſions in the ſacred porch
Ezekiel ſaw, when by the viſion led
His eye ſurvay'd the dark idolatries

as follow, 'We had the fortune to ſee 'what may be ſuppoſed to be the oc-'caſion of that opinion which Lucian 'relates concerning that river. —— 'The water was ſtained to a ſurpriz-'ing redneſs, and as we obſerved in 'travelling, had diſcoloured the ſea a 'great way into a reddiſh hue, occaſi-'oned doubtleſs by a ſort of minium, 'or red earth, waſhed into the river 'by the violence of the rain.' Lucian has aſcribed this to the ſame cauſe long before him. (ubi ſup.) Ο Ἀδῶνις ὁ ποτάμος διὰ τῦ Λιβάνυ ἐρχέται, &c. "Fluvius hic Adonis per Libanum defertur, cujus terra eſt admodum flava, "quam minio (μιλτωδια) ſimillimam "venti vehementes diebus illis exorientes in fluvium deferunt, eaque fa"cit, ut cruentus videatur." Adonis was not the only river where this miracle happened; Q. Calaber relates, that the river Paphlagonium, which (according to the fable) took its riſe out of the blood of Memnon, was tinctured red annually on the day in which that prince was killed by Achilles before Troy (1),

Ος τε καὶ αἱματόδης τραφερὴν ἐπινίσσεται αἶαν
Ὁππότε Μέμνονος ἦμαρ ἦν λυγρὸν, ᾧ ἔνι κεῖνος
Κάτθανε——

"Qui et ſanguinolentus per terram
"labitur
"Quando Memnonis funeſta illuxit
"dies, quo ille
"Extinctus eſt——

Kircher in his China Illuſtrata mentions another river ſubject to the ſame annual alteration of colour, which he accounts for from the ſame cauſe. Vid. pag. 175.

Ezekiel saw] (2) 'Then he 'brought me to the gate of the Lord's 'houſe, which was towards the North, 'and behold there ſat women weep-'ing for Thammuz.' We have already proved that Thammuz and Adonis were the ſame perſon under different names.

Dark idolatries] That is

(1) Lib. ii. 561. (2) C. viii. 14.

Of alienated Judah. Next came one
Who mourn'd in earneſt, when the captive ark
Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off
In his own temple, on the grunſel edge,
Where he fell flat, and ſham'd his worſhippers:

the idolatries which the Jews practiſed in ſecret. This agrees with Ezekiel's account, who before he could get a ſight of the private places in which they committed theſe idolatries, was ordered to dig in the wall, where he diſcovered a private entry, which led to the rooms where theſe myſteries of iniquity were celebrated, as he tells us (1).

Captive ark] The Philiſtins having defeated the Iſraelites, took the ark, and carried it with them in triumph to Aſdod. The cuſtom of carrying with the other captives the Gods of the vanquiſhed nations in triumph, was very ancient. To this Iſaiah alludes (2), when foretelling Cyrus' conqueſt of Babylon, 'Bel bow-'eth down, Nebo ſtoopeth, their idols 'were upon the beaſts and upon the 'cattle. Themſelves are gone into 'captivity.' In the ſame manner Daniel mentions the future captivity of the Gods adored in Syria (3), who were to be carried away by Ptolomy Evergetes, 'And ſhall carry cap-'tive into Egypt their gods and their 'princes.' We find ſimilar predictions in Jeremiah (4) and Amos (5). We have alſo examples of this in prophane hiſtory. Thus Plutarch in the life of Marcellus tells us, that this general having taken Syracuſe, brought away the ſtatues of the Gods out of their temples to adorn his triumph. It is worth while to tranſcribe Livy's remark upon this conduct of Marcellus (6), "Inde primum initium mirandi "Graecarum artium opera, licentiae-"que huic ſacra prophanaque omnia "vulgo ſpoliandi factum eſt. Quae po-"ſtremo in Romanos Deos, templum "id ipſum primum, quod a Marcello "eximie ornatum eſt, vertit (7)."

Grunsel] This is an old Saxon word, ſignifying the under poſt of the door. The threſhold. Our poet alludes to what the ſacred hiſtorian tells us, 1 Sam. v. 4.

(1) C. viii. 8. (2) C. xlvi. 1. (3) C. xi. 8. (4) C. xlviii. 7. (5) C. i. 15. (6) L. xxv. c. 40. (7) Bochart. Hieroz. P. i. l. ii. c. 34.

Dagon his name, ſea monſter, upward man

DAGON] This was the peculiar Deity of the Philiſtins, for we don't find in Scripture that he was worſhipped by any other of the neighbouring nations, not even the Phoenicians, whoſe tutelar Deity ſeems to have been Aſtarte. His name, according to Le Clerc (1) and Selden (2), is derived from a Hebrew word ſignifying a fiſh, and hence, as our poet obſerves, he was repreſented half man and half fiſh. Wherefore R. Kimchi tranſlates the words in Samuel(3), ONLY THE STUMP OF DAGON WAS LEFT TO HIM, as our tranſlation has it, by "Tantummodo forma PISCIS re-"licta eſt in eo." In the margin too of ſome of our Engliſh Bibles,it is rendered, THE FISHY PART. The learned Selden contends, that Dagon and Oannes are the ſame, and he is deſcribed as having the ſame form by Beroſus, Apollodorus, and Polyhiſtor, viz. The upper part like a man, the lower like a fiſh. Here are Beroſus' words, Τὸ μὲν ἀλλὸ σῶμα εἶχε ἰχθύος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν παραπεφυκυῖαν ἄλλην κεφαλὴν ὑποκατω τῆς τῦ ἰχθύος κεφάλης, ϗ ποδὰς ὁμοιῶς ἀνθρώπυ παραπεφυκότας δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὐρᾶς τῦ ἰχθύος. He adds, that his ſtatue was preſerved to his time, ſo that he could not be miſtaken in the deſcription. The Oannes, or Ωαν, mentioned by Apollodorus and Helladius, ſeem to be the ſame Deity with Dagon,according to the deſcription of him by Helladius (4); His words are as follows, Ανδρα τινὰ, ὠνομασμένον Ωαν, τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης ἀνελθῶν, &c. "Narrat virum quendam, "nomine Oen in Rubro Mari viſum, "habentem caetera membra piſcis,ca-"put et pedes et manus hominis." Apollodorus mentions no leſs than four idols of this kind, which he deſcribes as being half men and half fiſh, one of them he call Ωδακων, in which name that of Dagon plainly appears. It has been thought too, that the idol called Derceto, worſhipped at Aſcalon, was the ſame with Dagon, being formed into the figure of a woman above, and a fiſh beneath. Thus Diodorus Siculus (5) informs us, Κατὰ τὴν Συριὰν τοινῦν ἔστι πόλις Ασκαλῶν, &c. "In Syria eſt urbs Aſcalon, nec pro-"cul ab ea palus magna et profunda, "plena piſcibus. Ad hanc templum "eſt inſigni Deae quam vocant Syri "Dercetonem. Haec vultum quidem "habet mulieris, reliquum vero cor-"pus piſcis." Lucian deſcribes her in the ſame manner, only with this difference, that he makes her the mother of Semiramis (6), Δερκέτης δὲ εἶδος ἐν Φοίνικῃ ἐθεσάμεν, &c. "Dercetus au-

(1) Comment. ad Jud. xvi. 23. (2) Synt. ii. c. 3. (3) C. i. 15. (4) Ap. Phot. Cod. 279. p. 1594. edit. Schot. (5) L. ii. p. 92. (6) De Dea Syr. p. 884.

And downward fiſh: yet had his temple high
Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coaſt
Of Paleſtine, in Gath and Aſcalon,

" tem imaginem in Phoenicia vidi — " Erat dimidia parte mulier; et quan- " tum a femoribus ad pedes imos pro- " tenditur, in piſcis caudam deſine- " bat." I am not ignorant that Bochart, and after him the Abbé Banier (1), endeavoured to prove that Dagon's idol was not of the form in which the authors above-quoted repreſent it to us. In this they have followed Sanchoniathon, who calls Dagon, Ζεὺς Ἀροτρίοις, and aſſerts that he was the inventer of corn (2), and accordingly Bochart derives his name from a Phoenician word ſignifying WHEAT. But I think we have already ſaid enough for the juſtification of our poet in the figure he aſcribes to this idol.

TEMPLE IN AZOTUS] (3) It appears from the accounts we have in Scripture, that Dagon was worſhipped with great ſolemnity, and had ſeveral magnificent temples erected to him upon that part of the coaſt of Paleſtine poſſeſſed by the Philiſtins, which lay between Joppa on the North, and Gaza on the South. Such was that temple at Aſhdod, or Azotus, which was ſo large, that Sampſon by pulling it down deſtroyed three thouſand people, as we are told in Scripture (4).

GATH] The poet here enumerates the five principal cities poſſeſſed by the Philiſtins, which are well known from Scripture. Thus Joſhua deſcribes them (5), 'Five lords of the 'Philiſtins, the Gazathites and the 'Aſhdothites, the Eſhkalonites, the 'Gittites, and the Ekronites.' We find however other towns mentioned as belonging to them; ſuch is Gerar, mentioned in Geneſis (6), and Jabne, or Jabnia, in the book of Chronicles (7). But it would appear, that the five here mentioned by Milton were the moſt conſiderable, and ſeem to have been engaged in a ſort of confederacy or league, ſomewhat like the Republick of the United Provinces, and hence among later writers they were called the PENTAPOLIS by way of diſtinction. Thus Cedrenus (8) ſpeaking of the Philiſtins, Οἱ ἐν πάντι ὅριῳ τῆς Πενταπολιτῶν αὐτῶν, " Qui in omnibus finibus Penta- " poleos ipſorum." This city Gath,

(1) Mythol. l. vii. c. 3. (2) Euſeb. Παρ. l. i. c. 10. (3) Aſotus famous in Herod. l. ii. c. 157. (4) Jud. xvi. 27. (5) C. xiii. 3. (6) C. xxi. et xxvi. (7) 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. (8) Hiſt. Amiſſae Ariaep. 49.

And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
Him follow'd Rimmon, whoſe delightful ſeat

is by Reland and Cluverius placed more to the inland than Azotus; to the Southward of Eleutheropolis.

Ascalon] This city is placed by Cellarius between Gaza and Azotus (1), to which Reland agrees, who lays it down juſt by the ſea coaſt upon the river Sorek (2); Xanthus (3) affirms that the builder of this city was a Lydian named Aſcalus, Ταντάλος ϗ Ασκάλος παιδες Υμεναιω, &c. "Tantalum et "Aſcalum filios Hymaenaei fuiſſe. "Aſcalum autem ducem electum a "Lydorum rege Aciamo, in Syriam "militaſſe, et virginis amore captum, "urbem ibi a ſe conditam de ſuo no-"mine appellaſſe." But this town is certainly more ancient, ſince we find it named as one of the five ſatrapies of the Philiſtins in the books of Joſhua and Judges.

Accaron] Another city of the Philiſtins ſituated to the North of Azotus, and nearer the ſea ſhore; called alſo Ekron.

Gaza] This was one of the moſt conſiderable cities upon the coaſt of Judaea. Thus Pomponius Mela deſcribes it (4), "In Palaeſtina eſt in-"gens urbs et munita admodum Ga-"za." Our poet here calls it the frontier of the country, being ſituated next to the confines of Idumaea, and the deſart which lies between that and Egypt. So Pomponius (ubi ſupra) tells us, that Cambyſes, when going to invade Egypt, made this city a place of arms, tho' he is miſtaken in deriving the name of the town from this circumſtance, it being called Gaza even in the days of the Patriarchs (5). Arrian has deſcribed this city much in the ſame way with Milton (6), Μεγαλη δὲ πόλις ἡ Γαζαίων, &c. "Ga-"za urbs ampla et in colle ſita, vali-"doque muro circumdata. Ultima "autem colitur, ſi ex Phoenice in Ae-"gyptum tendis, ad initium ſolitudi-"nis poſita." See the hiſtory of this city in Cellarius (7).

Rimmon] This Deity is mentioned but once in Scripture, as the God worſhipped by the Syrians at Damaſcus (8). Selden derives his name from a Hebrew word ſignifying High, and ſtrengthens his conjecture by theſe words of Heſychius, Ραμα ὑψηλη, and Ραμας ὑψιστος Θεὸς, the difference betwixt Rama and Rimmon not being very conſiderable. There is added to

(1) L. iii. c. 13. (2) Vide Plin. lib. v. c. 13. (3) Apud Steph. Byzant. voce Ασκαλων. (4) L. i. c. 11. (5) Gen. x. 19. (6) Exp. Alex. l. ii. p. 150. (7) Geogr. Ant. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 368. (8) 2 K. v. 18.

Was fair Damaſcus, on the fertile banks

ſupport this opinion what Stephanus Byzant. has(1), Ραμάνθας, τῦτ' ἔστιν, Ἀφ' ὕψους ὁ θεός. But Bochart (2) has proved that Stephanus miſtook Philo, from whoſe writings he had the paſſage above-quoted. Serrarius, cited by Selden (3), thinks that Rimmon and Venus are the ſame, becauſe Rimmon in Hebrew ſignifies a Pomegranate, the figure of which fruit is commonly placed in the hands of the ſtatue of Venus. Others think that by Rimmon is to be underſtood Saturn, the higheſt of the planets. Theſe are all but uncertain conjectures, as we have no light from prophane hiſtory to guide us in this reſearch, and the Scripture mentioning this idol but once, we are ſtill more at a loſs. Our poet ſays nothing of this Deity but what is contained in the ſacred text, viz. that he was a Syrian Deity, and worſhipped at Damaſcus.

Damascus] This city ſtood upon the river Chryſorroas, betwixt Libanus and Antilibanus. It has been much celebrated for its beautiful ſituation. Thus Strabo (4), Ἡ Δαμάσκηνὴ χῶρα διαφερόντως ἐπαινέμενη, "Damaſcena regio in primis laudata eſt. "Eſt vero etiam Damaſcus urbs inſignis, ac prope omnium clariſſima "ejus regionis." And the Emperor Julian (5), Εἰδὼς τὴν Διὸς πόλιν ἀληθῶς, &c. "Aequum erat veram Jovis urbem, totiuſque Orientis oculum (ſacram et ampliſſimam Damaſcum dico) cum omnibus aliis rebus, ſacrorum elegantia, templorum magnitudine, temporum anni opportunitate, fontium nitore, fluviorum magnitudine, terrae ubertate ſupererare et excellere." Damaſcus is certainly a very ancient city, being mentioned by Abraham (6), where ſpeaking of his ſteward, he calls him Eliezer of Damascus. It is indeed true that the Septuagint and Jerome tranſlate it Damaſcus Eliezer, as if this man had two names; but in this all the ſubſequent interpreters differ from them. Steph. Byzant. ſays it was founded by Damaſcus the ſon of Mercury and Alcimeda. The Arabian hiſtorians affirm that it was founded by Demſchak, the ſon of Canaan, grandſon to Noah. The Perſian geographer ſays, that the plain of Damaſcus, which extends itſelf between Libanus and Antilibanus, is one of the four paradiſes of the Eaſt. The three others are, Obilla in Chaldaea, Schebaoran in Perſia, and the Sogdian, which the Eaſtern people call the Valley of Sa-

(1) In voce Δαοδικεια. (2) Can. lib. ii. c. 12. (3) Synt. ii. c. 12.
(4) Lib. xvi. p. 520. (5) Epiſt. xxiv. ad Sarapion. (6) Gen. xv. 2.

Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid ſtreams.
He alſo againſt the houſe of God was bold:
A leper once he loſt and gain'd a king,
Ahaz his ſottiſh conquerour, whom he drew

mariand. The beauty and fertility of this plain have given riſe to a tradition, which ſtill prevails among the Jews and Chriſtians in that country, that Paradiſe was ſituated in the valley of Damaſcus, tho' it be at a good diſtance from the Euphrates and the Tygris.

ABBANA] This river is ſo called by Naaman, when offended with Eliſha, who had bid him go bathe in Jordan, he replies, 'Are not Abana and 'Pharphar, rivers of Damaſcus, bet-'ter than all the waters of Iſrael (1)?' There are ſome authors who take Abana to be the Orontes, and Pharphar the Chryſorroas, celebrated rivers of Syria. Benjamin of Tutela ſays, that the river Abana, or Amana, waters the city of Damaſcus, and Pharphar the country about it: Calmet obſerves (2), that the river which runs thro' Damaſcus is called now Tarfar, or Tarpharo, which ſeems to be the ſame with the Pharphar of the Scripture. The ſource of this river is in the Antilibanus, and it loſes itſelf in the marſhes four or five leagues from Damaſcus (3).

V. 471. Milton in this and the five following verſes, alludes to the hiſtory of Naaman, who was cured of his leproſy by the prophet Eliſha, as we have it recorded (4). Naaman was ſenſibly ſtruck with ſo evident a miracle, and thereupon promiſed to the prophet, that from that time he would offer incenſe to no other Deity, but only to the God of Iſrael.

In V. 472. our poet hints at what is told us by the ſacred hiſtorian in the ſecond book of Kings (5). Ahaz had by the aſſiſtance of Tiglath-pileſer king Aſſyria, overcome and killed Rezin king of Syria: after which Ahaz having gone to Damaſcus, order'd an altar to be built according to the form of one he had ſeen there, upon which he ſacrificed, after his return to Jeruſalem. The ſacred writer indeed does not acquaint us to what particular idol this altar which Ahaz ſaw at Damaſcus was dedicated; however, as we are expreſsly told in another place (6), that Ahaz ſacrificed to the

(1) 2 K. v. 12. (2) Dictionar. voce Damaſcus. (3) Maundrell journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem. (4) 2 K. v. (5) Cap. xvi. (6) 2 Chron. xxviii. 23.

God's altar to diſparage and diſplace
For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
His odious off'rings, and adore the Gods
Whom he had vanquiſht. After theſe appear'd
A crew who under names of old renown,
Oſiris, Iſis, Orus, and their train

Gods of Damaſcus, we may with Milton as well ſuppoſe it was to Rimmon as to any other.

CREW] A crew ſignifies properly a company, or aſſembly. It is uſed generally to denote a gang of the meaneſt ſort of people or ruffians, and ſo Milton here employs it.

OSYRIS] This was the peculiar Deity of the Egyptians, and appears to have been the name under which they worſhipped the ſun (1). Euſebius, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus agree in deriving it from two Egyptian words, which they tranſlate Πολυοφθάλμος, or HAVING MANY EYES. Hence Heſychius explains the word Σειρος, or Oſyris, by that of Ηλιος, or the Sun. This Deity ſeems to have been conſidered in the ſame light as the Pan of the Greeks, by the deſcription which he gives of himſelf as recorded by Macrobius (2), when being asked by Nicocreon king of Cyprus, which of the Gods he was, replied in the following verſes,

Εἰμὶ θεὸς τοίος δὲ μαθεῖν, οἷον κ' ἐγὼ εἴπω·
Οὐράνιος κόσμος κεφαλὴ, γαστὴρ δὲ θάλασσα,
Γαῖα δέ μοι πόδες εἰσὶ, τὰ δ' ὦτ' ἐν αἰθέρι κεῖται,
Ὄμμα τε τηλαυγὲς, λαμπρὸν φάος Ηελίοιο.

"Deorum maximus ſum, cujus caput "eſt coelum, venter maria, pedes ter- "ra, aures in ipſo aethere locatae, o- "culi praefulgentes ipſe ſol." The learned Selden agrees that Oſyris is the ſun (3), whoſe approaches and receſſes were alternately the occaſion of ſo much grief and joy to the Egyptians. This is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, who aſſerts (4), that from the earlieſt ages, the ſun and moon were by them called Iſis and Oſyris. His words are, Τὺς δ' ὖν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνθρώπυς τὸ παλαιὸν γενομένυς, ἀναβλέψαντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον —— ὑπόλαβειν εἶναι δύο θεὺς ἀΐδιυς τὲ καὶ πρώτυς, τόν τε Ηλιον, καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, ὧν τὸν μὲν Οσιριν, τὴν δὲ Ισιν ὀνομά-

(1) Gen. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 204. fol. (2) Sat. i. c. 20. (3) Synt. i. c. 4. (4) L. i. p. 10.

σαι. The reader may find more proofs of this hypotheſis collected by Voſſius in his treatiſe De Idololatria (1).

Isis] Iſis was thought to have been the ſiſter of Oſiris and his wife; under her name they worſhipped the moon, as under that of Oſyris the ſun (2). In another phyſical reſpect they called Oſyris the Nile, and Iſis the earth, which he renders fruitful by overflowing it. Thus the philoſopher above quoted, Οὕτω γὰρ Αἰγυπτιοις Νειλὸν εἶναι τὸν Οσίριν Ισίδι συνόντα τῇ γῇ. "Sic "Egyptiis Nilum eſſe Oſyridem con-"gredientem cum Iſide, quae eſt ter-"ra." They alſo ſay that Iſis firſt ſhewed men the uſe of corn, and therefore they looked upon her as being the ſame with the Grecian Ceres, tho' this latter (according to the beſt chronology) lived ſeveral ages after. Thus Diodorus (3), Αἴγυπτιοι μὲν γὰρ λεγῦσι τὴν τε Δημῆτραν ϗ τὴν Ισὶν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι, ϗ εἰς Αἴγυπτὸν ἐνέγκειν πρῶτην τὸ σπερμὰ. To the ſame purpoſe Auguſtin (4), "Illa (Iſis) cum ſacrificaret "invenit hordei ſegetem, atque inde "ſpicas marito regi, atque ejus con-"ſiliario Mercurio demonſtravit, un-"de eandem et Cererem volunt." As Iſis firſt found out the grain, ſo they aſcribe to Oſyris the invention of tillage. Thus Tibullus (5),

"Primus aratra manu ſolerti fecit "Oſyris,
"Et teneram ferro ſollicitavit hu-"mum,
"Primus inexpertae commiſit ſemi-"na terrae,
"Pomaque non notis legit ab arbo-"ribus.

In memory of this uſeful diſcovery made by Iſis, they uſed to carry baſkets of corn in celebrating her feſtival, as a teſtimony of their gratitude to their benefactreſs, and to perpetuate the memory of this diſcovery, as we are informed by Diodorus (6).

Orus] This was another of the Egyptian Deities, ſaid to be the ſon of Oſyris and Iſis, and the ſame with the Grecian Apollo. Thus Herodotus (7), Ωρον, τὸν Οσιρίδος παίδα, τὸν Απολλῶνα Ελληνις ὀνομαζῦσι. Hence it appears, that under this name of Orus the Egyptians worſhipped the ſun. And Diodorus Siculus, after relating that Horus, or Orus, was the ſon of Oſyris and Iſis, adds, Τὸν δὲ Ωρον μεθερμηνευομένον φάσιν Απολλῶνα ὑπάρχειν, "Ho-"rum vero interpretantur Apolli-"nem (8)." Macrobius affirms the ſame thing (9), "Apud eoſdem (Ae-"gyptios) Apollo qui eſt ſol, Horus "vocatur. Ex quo et Horae viginti "quatuor, quibus dies, noxque con-"ficitur, nomen acceperunt, et qua-

(1) L. ii. c. 10. (2) Plut. de Iſide. (3) Bib. l. v. (4) C. D. Lib. viii. cap. 27. (5) Lib. i. Eleg. 7. (6) Lib. i. p. 13. (7) L. ii. c. 144. (8) L. i. p. 22. (9) Sat. l. i. c. 21.

With monſtrous ſhapes and ſorceries abus'd
Fanatic Egypt and her prieſts, to ſeek

" tuor tempora, quibus annuus orbis " impletur, Horae vocantur." Horapollo, in his treatiſe of hieroglyphics (1), calls the ſun Horus, Ηλιος δὲ ὁ Ωρος. He was the laſt of the Gods, according to Diodorus (2), who reigned in Egypt, and Milton mentions him together with Oſyris and Iſis, as the three chief Deities of that country.

Monstrous shapes] The worſhip the Egyptians payed to a vaſt number of different animals, and even plants, has been always famous, and abundantly ridiculed even by the Pagans themſelves. Thus Plutarch (3) calls the Deities of Egypt Αλογιας, Ineptias. Virgil (4),

"Omnigenûmque Deûm MONSTRA, " et latrator Anubis.

Euſebius mentions among their Gods, the Ox, the Sheep, the Ichneumon, the Eagle, &c. (5), whence Cyril of Alexandria (in Mich.) (6) juſtly calls them " Abominandos et impuros dae- " monum greges." Juvenal has been particularly ſevere upon them (7),

" —— qualia demens
" Aegyptus portenta colat. Croco- " dilon adorat
Pars haec; illa pavet ſaturam ſerpen- " tibus Ibin,
" Effigies ſacri nitet aurea Cerco- " pitheci.

And below,

" Porrum et caepe nefas violare et " frangere morſu.
" O ſanctas gentes, quibus haec naſ- " cuntur in hortis
" Numina——

Among the remnants of antiquity we ſtill find many uncouth and monſtrous ſhapes (as our poet here calls them) of the Egyptian Deities. Such is that of Anubis mentioned by Virgil, which Plutarch (de Iſide) and Euſebius (8) tells us had a dog's head to denote his wiſdom. This is the account Servius gives of him, " Quia capite canino " fingitur (ſays he) hunc volunt eſſe " Mercurium, ideo quia nihil eſt ca- " ne ſagacius." (9) Apuleius gives us much the ſame idea of this idol, " Ille ſuperûm commentor et infe- " rûm, nunc atra, nunc aurea facie " ſublimis, —attollens canis cervices " arduus Anubis, laeva caduceum fe- " rens, dextra palmam virentem qua- " tiens."

(1) Cap. xvii. (2) Lib. i. p. 15. (3) Sympoſ. (4) Aen. viii. 698.
(5) Παρ. l. ii. c. 1. (6) C. vii. N. 71. (7) Sat. xv. (8) Παρ. l. ii. c. 1.
(9) Ad Aen. viii.

Their wandring Gods diſguis'd in brutiſh forms

Brutish forms] The Egyptians worſhipped a great many different animals from a ſuppoſition that ſome Deity animated their bodies. According to them, this happened when the giant Typhon purſued the Gods into Egypt, who, to avoid him, aſſumed the figures of different creatures, in order to conceal themſelves. This is the account that Euſebius gives of it (1). We have the hiſtory of this tranſaction by Antonius Liberalis (2), who tells us, that Apollo took the figure of a vulture, Mercury that of Ibis, and ſo of the reſt. Hyginus (3) gives the ſame account of it, "Dii in "Aegypto, cum Typhonis immani-"tatem metuerent, Pan juſſit eos, ut "in feras beſtias ſe converterent, quo "facilius eum deciperent." The ſame author in another place (4) acquaints us, that this is a conſtant tradition among the Egyptian prieſts, "Aegyp-"tii autem ſacerdotes dicunt, cum "complures Dii in Aegyptum conve-"niſſent, repente veniſſe eòdem Ty-"phona, acerrimum giganta, et maxi-"me Deorum inimicum, quo timore "permotos, in alias figuras ſe con-"vertiſſe; Mercurium factum eſſe I-"bin, Apollinem autem quae Threï-"cia avis vocatur, Dianam Merulam "ſimulatam." Ovid mentions this fable (5),

"Emiſſum ima de ſede Typhoea
"terrae
"Coelitibus feciſſe metum——
"——donec feſſos Aegyptia tellus
"Ceperit——
"Huc quoque terrigenam veniſſe
"Typhoea narrat
"Et ſe mentitis Superos celaſſe figu-
"ris.

We find this worſhip they payed to brute animals mentioned by all the authors who have ſpoken of them. Thus Joſephus (6) aſſerts that if the religion of Egypt was to become general, the world would be depopulated by wild beaſts, Εἰ μέντοι τοῖς Αἰγυπτιῶν ἠθέσιν ἠκολυθῶν ἅπαντες ἠρημῶτο μὲν ἂν ὁ κοσμὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἀγρίωτατων δὲ θηριῶν ἐπλήθυνθη ἃ θεὸς ὕτοι νομίζοντες ἐπιμελῶς ἐκτρέφυσι. And Pomponius Mela, when ſpeaking of the Egyptians (7), "Colunt effigies multorum ani-"malium, atque ipſa magis animalia; "ſed alii alia, adeo ut quaedam eo-"rum, etiam per imprudentiam in-"teremiſſe capitale ſit; et ubi morbo "aut forte extincta ſint, ſepelire et lu-"gere ſollenne ſit. Apis populorum "omnium numen eſt. Bos niger certis "maculis inſignis, et cauda, lingua-

(1) Παρ. l. i. p. 31. edit. Steph. (2) Met. c. xxviii. (3) Fab. 196.
(4) Aſtron. ii. c. 28. (5) Met. v. 321. (6) Cont. App. l. ii. c. 5. p. 1069.
(7) Lib. i. c. 9.

Rather than human. Nor did Iſrael ſcape
Th' infection, when their borrow'd gold compos'd
The calf in Oreb: and the rebel king 484

" que diſſimilis aliorum." We have an account of a ſacred crocodile which was kept in a lake near the city Arſinoe, from Strabo (1). He mentions immediately afterwards the city of Hercules, famous for the worſhip of the Ichneumon, and another in which dogs were honoured. The ſame author informs us, that there were ſome ſpecies of animals worſhipped by all the Egyptians in general, as the ox, the dog, the vulture, and Ibis (2). Such was the religious worſhip of a nation remarkable among the ancients for their wiſdom and policy. The Egyptians however were not the only people who fell into theſe abſurdities. We find the Syrians about the Euphrates abſtaining from fiſh, from a perſuaſion that the Gods had once informed their bodies. Thus Hyginus (3), " Itaque " poſtea Syros——deſtitiſſe piſces e- " ſitare, quod vereantur eos capere, " ne ſimili cauſa, aut Deorum praeſi- " dia impugnare videantur, aut eos " ipſos captare."

V. 484. Milton here ſeems to follow their opinion who ſuppoſe that Aaron took the form of a calf, and paid divine honours to it, from what he had ſeen practiſed among the Egyptians with regard to their Apis, who was worſhipped under the form of an ox. Some of the ancient commentators were of this ſentiment, as Jerome (4) and Lactantius, who when ſpeaking of the coming of the Jews out of Egypt (5), " Depulſa jam ſer- " vitute — in luxuriam prolapſi, ad " prophanos Egyptiorum ritus ani- " mos tranſtulerunt — aureum caput " bovis, quem vocant Apim,—quod " eos in ſignum praecederet, figura- " runt." Some learned men have thought that the worſhip paid to Apis, owed its origin to the gratitude of the Egyptians for the benefits they received from Joſeph, of whom Apis (ſay they) was a hieroglyphical repreſentation. Thus Ruffinus (6) ſpeaking of the temple of Serapis, " Qui- " dam in honorem noſtri Joſeph, for- " matum perhibent ſimulacrum, ob " diviſionem frumenti, qua famis tem- " pore ſubvenit Aegyptiis." Voſſius in his treatiſe De Idololatria, has made

(1) Lib. xii. p. 811. (2) Herodotus l. ii. c. 39, 40. Macrob. Lat. l. i. c. 20. Diod. Sic. l. i. (3) Aſtron. l. ii. c. 30. (4) In c. iv. Hoſ. (5) Lib. iv. c. 10. (6) Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ii. c. 23.

Doubl'd that ſin in Bethel and in Dan, 485
Lik'ning his maker to the grazed ox,

great efforts to ſupport this opinion (1). He founds it upon the paſſage of Ruffinus above-cited; upon that of Suidas (2), where he ſays, that it was thought by ſome, that Apis was the repreſentation of Joſeph; upon that paſſage of Deuteronomy (3) where Joſeph is called an ox, and on the ancient way of repreſenting abundance by the figure of an ox, according to what Suidas ſays, when ſpeaking of the temple of Apis, Εν ᾧ βοῦς ἐτρέφετο, συμβολὸν φερῶν τῷ γεωργῳ, "In quo bos "nutritu, ſymbolum agricolae prae-"ferens." Spencer in his treatiſe (4) has added other arguments for this hypotheſis, which the reader may ſee at his leiſure. But they are all oppoſed by the learned Bochart (5) from this one conſideration, that theſe writers can bring no teſtimony to prove, that the worſhip of Apis was eſtabliſhed in Egypt in the days of Moſes. The ſame author endeavours to make it appear from the words of Moſes (6), that it is far from being probable the Egyptians ever deified Joſeph. However he owns it was the almoſt general opinion of the Rabbies and Chriſtian interpreters, that Aaron took the figure of his molten calf, from that of Apis in Egypt, and quotes a great many paſſages from their writings to this purpoſe. To theſe we ſhall only add the teſtimony of the learned Grotius, who is very poſitive on this head (7), "Aegyptios con-"ſtat ante Hebraeorum exitum, bo-"vis ſimulacrum coluiſſe, nam inde "foedae ſuperſtitionis exemplum ad "Hebraeos manavit."

V. 485. Milton alludes to the hiſtory of Jeroboam, who rebelling againſt Rehoboam the ſon of Solomon, and having brought over to his ſide ten of the Jewiſh tribes, to prevent their going to worſhip at Jeruſalem, erected two figures of calves, or oxen, the one in Bethel, the other in Dan, as the ſacred hiſtorian informs us (8). The Septuagint and Joſephus call theſe calves of Jeroboam, Δύο δαμάλεις χρύσας, Two golden heifers (9). Neither was this repugnant to the Egyptian ſuperſtition, both oxen and heifers being worſhipped by that people. So Strabo tells us, that at Memphis they worſhipped Θηλείαν βοῦν ἱερὰν, A ſacred heifer (10).

V. 486. Our poet beautifully makes uſe of the thought and expreſſion of the Pſalmiſt, who when ſpeaking of

(1) Lib. i. c. 29. (2) Voce Σαραπις. (3) C. xxxiii. 17. (4) De Legib. Hebr. l. i. c. 1. (5) Hieroz. P. i. l. ii. c. 34. (6) Exod. i. 8. (7) Ad Matth. v. 45. (8) 1 Kings xii. 29. (9) Joſ. Ant. l. viii. c. 3. (1) Lib. xvii. p. 803.

Jehovah, who in one night when he paſs'd 487
From Egypt marching, equal'd with one ſtroke
Both her firſt born and all her bleating gods.
Belial came laſt, than whom a ſpirit more lewd

this crime of the Iſraelites (1), 'They 'changed their Glory into the ſimili- 'tude of an ox that eateth graſs.' The Apoſtle Paul has an expreſſion very like this of the Pſalmiſt (2), 'They 'changed the glory of the incorrup- 'tible God into an image made like 'to corruptible man, and to birds, 'and fourfooted beaſts, and creeping 'things.'

V. 487. This antitheſis between the idols worſhipped by the Jews and the Almighty God, is ſet by our author in the ſtrongeſt light, and almoſt in the very words of the divine hiſtorian (3), 'I will paſs through the 'land of Egypt this night, and will 'ſmite all the firſt-born in the land of 'Egypt, both man and beaſt, and a- 'gainſt all the gods of Egypt I will 'execute judgment. I am the Lord.' Some have tranſlated the word Gods by that of Princes, but Milton's opinion, that God deſtroyed the idols of Egypt at the ſame time that he killed their firſt-born, has been embraced by moſt commentators. Thus we find that he deſtroyed the idol of Dagon (4), and Moſes himſelf mentions in another place (5) the judgments executed by God upon the idols of Egypt.

Belial] This is a Hebrew term ſignifying, One who will endure no ſubjection, a deſolate, abandon'd fellow. Thus the inhabitants of Gibeah, who had abuſed the Levite's wife, and the two ſons of Eli, are called ſons of Belial, on account of the ſeveral crimes they had committed (6). Sometimes the name of Belial is uſed to denote the devil. Thus St. Paul ſays (7), 'What concord hath Chriſt with 'Belial?' Hence we may conclude (with the learned Calmet) (8), that in Paul's time the Jews under the name of Belial, commonly underſtood the devil to be meant, in the places where this word is met with in the Old Teſtament. From this ſuppoſition we may eaſily account for Milton's feigning him to be one of the apoſtate ſpirits. At the ſame time we cannot fail to remark with Mr. Addiſon, the

(1) Pſ. cvi. 19. (2) Rom. i. 23. (3) Exod. xii. (4) 1 Sam. v. 3. (5) Numb. xxxiii. 4. (6) Judg. xix. 22. (7) 2 Corin. vi. 15. (8) Dict. voce Belial.

Fell not from heaven, or more groſs to love
Vice for itſelf: to him no temple ſtood
Or altar ſmoak'd; yet who more oft than he
In temples and at altars, when the prieſt
Turns atheiſt, as did Eli's ſons, who fill'd
With luſt and violence the houſe of God.
In courts and palaces he alſo reigns
And in luxurious cities, where the noiſe
Of riot aſcends above their loftieſt tow'rs,

ſtrict propriety of character obſerved by our poet in his deſcription of his different actors. Belial is here deſcribed as the idol of the lewd and luxurious. In the book following, purſuant to this deſcription, he is characterized as timorous and ſlothful, and in the ſixth he is celebrated for nothing but that ſcoffing ſpeech he makes to Satan, on their ſuppoſed advantage over the enemy (1),

Leader, the terms we ſent were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, &c.

His ſentiments in the infernal aſſembly (2) are every way conformable to his character. Such are his apprehenſions of a ſecond battle, his horrors of annihilation, and his chuſing to be miſerable rather than not to be (3);

——who would loſe,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being?
To periſh rather, ſwallow'd up and loſt
In the wide womb of uncreated Night,
Devoid of ſenſe and motion——

Eli's sons] This is what we have recorded by the ſacred hiſtorian (4). Our poet here ſays they were guilty of two crimes, luſt, and violence. The firſt, when they debauched the women who aſſembled at the door of the tabernacle. They were guilty of the ſecond crime, when inſtead of being contented with that portion of the victim, which Moſes by the law had appointed for the prieſts (5),

(1) V. 621. (2) B. ii. (3) B. ii. 146. (4) 1 Sam. ii.
(5) Levit. vii. 30.

And injury and outrage: and when night
Darkens the ſtreets, then wander forth the ſons
Of Belial, flown with inſolence and wine.
Witneſs the ſtreets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when the hoſpitable door
Expos'd a matron to avoid worſe rape.
Theſe were the prime in order and in might;
The reſt were long to tell, though far renown'd,
Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's iſſue held

they ſeized by force on any other part that pleaſed them (1).

Sodom] Theſe two examples of lawleſs violence are well known from Gen. (2) and Judges (3).

Matron] The ſacred text tells us that this woman was only the Levite's concubine, and not his wife. However, in theſe early ages, the difference betwixt a concubine and a wife was not ſo remarkable as at preſent, which might eaſily be proved by numberleſs examples. Hence our poet, who was particularly well acquainted with antiquity, gives her the ſame appellation, which is now applied to married women only. Add to this, that the word in the original here tranſlated concubine, is in ſome other paſſages rendered wife, as of Keturah, Abraham's ſecond wife (4).

Prime] Our poet calls the Syrian Deities the chief of the apoſtate ſpirits. The reaſon of this is, that theſe are the idols who are mentioned in the moſt ancient records, viz. by the ſacred text. The Grecian and Roman Deities are much later, as we have no account of them for ſeveral ages after Moſes; wherefore Milton conſiders them as of an inferior order and degree: and it is known too, that theſe Greek and Roman Deities were derived from the Gods of this country.

Javan's issue] Javan was the fourth ſon of Japhet, the ſon of Noah (5). His deſcendants having peopled

(1) 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14, 15. (2) C. xix. (3) C. xix. (4) Gen. xxv. 1. (7) Vide Gen. x. 2.

Gods, yet confeſt later than heav'n and earth
Their boaſted parents; Titan Heav'n's firſt born

Greece, it came to be called Ionia, and the Grecians Ionians, from his name. This becomes more probable upon reflecting that the Hebrew word JAVAN may be alſo read ION. This is Joſephus' opinion of the origin of the name in the place quoted in the margin (1), which the learned Bochart has confirmed by a great many authorities (2). Thus the ſcholiaſt upon Ariſtophanes (3) ſays, Πάντας τὺς Ελληνας Ιαόνας οἱ Βαρβάροι εκαλῶν, "Omnes Graecos Barbari Iaonas appellabant." And Homer mentions a people of Greece, whom he calls Iaones (4),

Ενθα δὲ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ Ἰάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες.

Bochart joins the Macedonians with the other Greeks, under this name of Ionians, founding himſelf upon the paſſage of the prophet Daniel (5), where he calls Alexander king of Javan. Thus we ſee with what reaſon Milton calls the Grecian Deities the offſpring of Javan, who firſt peopled Greece.

BOASTED PARENTS] The theology of the Greeks, with relation to Saturn, went no further than to make him the ſon of Heaven and Earth. Thus Orpheus in his hymn to Saturn calls him (6),

Γαιὴς τὲ βλαστὴ, καὶ Οὐρανῦ ἀστεροέντος.

"Terra prognatus et Coelo ſtellato."

And again,

Γαῖα θεὰ, μητὴρ μακαρῶν, θνητῶν τ' ἐνθρῶπων.

"Divina Terra, mater beatorum, hominumque mortalium (7)."

In the ſame manner Homer in his hymn to the Earth (8),

Χαῖρε θεῶν μητὴρ, ἄλοχ' Οὐρανυ ἀστεροέντος.

"Salve Deûm mater, Coeli uxor ſtellati."

Heſiod after naming the different children of Tellus, or the Earth (9),

Τὺς δὲ μεθ' ὁπλότατος γένετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης.

"Poſt hos natus minimus eſt Saturnus vafer."

And in another place of the Theogony, ver. 45, deſcribing the Muſes,

Θεῶν γένος αἰδοῖον πρῶτον κλείουσιν ἀοιδῇ
Ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὺς Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρυς ἐτίκτον,
Οἵτ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων.

And Aeſchylus in Supplices ver. 899.

Ω βᾶ, γᾶς παῖ Ζεῦ.

Now Homer and Heſiod were, accor-

(1) Ant. l. iii. c. 3. (2) Phaleg. l. iii. c. 3. (3) Acharnenſ. (4) Il. xiii. 685.
(5) C. viii. 21. (6) In Satur. (7) P. 107. edit. Steph. (8) V. i.
(9) Theog. 137.

With his enormous brood, and birth-right ſeiz'd
By younger Saturn, he from mightier Jove
His own and Rhea's ſon like meaſure found;

ding to Herodotus, the firſt who gave a Theogony to the Greeks. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 53.

To the ſame purpoſe Lactantius (1), "Non poterat enim dicere (Or-"pheus) Jovem eſſe principem re-"rum, qui erat Saturno genitus, ne-"que Saturnum ipſum qui Coelo na-"tus ferebatur." In the firſt ages it was common to ſay of a perſon whoſe origin and birth was unknown, that he was the ſon of Heaven and Earth, and to this we muſt aſcribe the fables which the poets tell us of Saturn, much like theſe of the Americans of Cuzco, who believed that their firſt Ynca, or Emperor who taught them to build cities and live together in ſocieties, was the offspring of the Sun, as we are informed by Garcilaſſo de la Vega, in his hiſtory of the Ynca's (2).

Titan Heav'n's first born] So Orpheus ſpeaks of them in one of his hymns,

Τιτῆνες, Γαιὴς τὲ καὶ Οὐρανὺ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα.

And Heſiod (3),

Τὺς δὲ παλὴν Τιτῆνας ἐπίκλησιν καλέεσκεν
Παῖδας νεικείων μέγας Οὐρανὸς, ὺς τέκετο αὐτός.

"Illos vero pater Titanas cogno-"minavit
"Filios ſuos objurgans magnus "Coelus.

We have the hiſtory of the Titans by Apollodorus (4), who tells us, that being the children of Heaven and Earth, they were giants, and attacking their father Coelus, expelled him the throne, and placed Saturn their youngeſt brother in his ſtead. But the firſt uſe he made of his power was to thruſt the Titans down into Tartarus.

Younger Saturn] According to the poets Saturn was the youngeſt ſon of Coelus and Terra. Thus Heſiod (5) as above,

Τὺς δὲ μέθ' ὁπλότατος γένετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτις.

"Poſt illos minimus natus eſt Satur-"nus vafer.

And Apollodorus, in the ſame manner, calls him Νεοτατὸν ἁπάντων Κρόνον, The youngeſt of them all (6).

Rhea's son] Every one knows that Jupiter was the ſon of Saturn and Rhea. So the Greek epigrammatiſt,

Ζῆνα θεῶν βασιλῆα Ρεὴ τεκέν τῷ ἐνὶ χωρῷ.

(1) Div. Inſt. l. i. c. 5. (2) Lib. i. c. 15. (3) Theog. 207. (4) Bib. l. i. c. 1. (5) Theog. 137. (6) Bib. l. i. c. 1.

And Homer (1),

Τρῆς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνυ εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοὶ, ὕς τέκε Ρέη,
Ζεὺς, καὶ ἐγὼ τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων.

Three brother Deities from Saturn came,
And ancient Rhea, Earth's immortal dame,
Aſſign'd by lot our triple rule we know. POPE.

Some have thought the Platonic philoſophers drew from hence their notion of the Triad. Τὸ αὐτὸ ὄν, ὁ νῦς ὁ δημιούργος, ἡ τῦ κόσμυ ψυχὴ, which the Chriſtian Platoniſts fooliſhly took to be an obſcure hint of the ſacred Trinity. Plato (2) tells us that Homer was the author τῆς τῶν δημίυργικων τριάδικης ὑποσασεῶς (3). Lactantius gives the beſt, and, as it would ſeem, the true account of the origin of this fable (4); he ſuppoſes it to be a fragment of ancient hiſtory, importing that the empire of the then known world was divided among the three brothers, to Jupiter the Oriental part was allotted, which was called heaven, as being the region of light, or the ſun, to Pluto the Occidental, or darker regions, and to Neptune the ſovereignty of the ſeas. This agrees exactly with Homer's account (5),

Τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασαι, ἕκασος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς.
Ητοι ἐγὼν ἔλαχον πολίην ἅλα ναιέμεν αἰεί,
Παλλομένοισι Ἀΐδης δ' ἔλαχεν ζόφον ἠερόεντα,
Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' ὐρανὸν——

Aſſign'd by lot our triple rule we know;
Infernal Pluto ſways the ſhades below,
O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the ſtarry plain,
Etherial Jove extends his high domain;
My court beneath the hoary waves I keep. POPE.

Callimachus mentions this diviſion of the univerſe in his hymn to Jupiter, ver. 58.

Τῷ τοι καὶ γνωτοὶ, προτερηγενέες περ ἐόντες
Οὐρανὸν ὐκ ἐμέγηραν ἔχειν, ἐπιδαίσιον οἶκον.

" Nec tibi par fratrum, quamvis
" praecederet annis,
Invidit, quae ſorte tenes, coeleſtia templa.

The learned Bochart (6) makes Ham to be Jupiter, to whoſe ſhare Africa fell, moſt of which being within the Tropics is very hot, therefore thought to be neareſt to heaven. Thus Lucan (7),

" Terrarum primam Lybiam, nam
" proxima coelo eſt,
" (Ut probat ipſe calor) tetigit——

He makes Shem to be Pluto, to whoſe lot Aſia fell, and Japhet, Neptune, who got Europe and the Iſlands of the

(1) Il. xv. 187. (2) In Gorg. (3) Vide Lucian. in Philopatr. Ariſtot. de Coelo lib. i. c. 1. (4) Div. Inſt. l. i. c. xi. (5) Il. xv. 189. (6) Phaleg. l. i. c. 1. (7) Lib. ix.

So Jove uſurping reign'd: theſe firſt in Crete

Mediterranean for his portion. Milton has formed this account of Jupiter from Heſiod, who tells us that being aſſiſted by his uncles, the ſons of Coelus and Terra, and having got the thunder from them, he dethroned his father Saturn, and took poſſeſſion of his kingdom (1).

Λῦσε δὲ πατροκασιγνήτους ὀλοῶν ἀπὸ δεσμῶν
Οὐρανίδας, ἧς δῆσε πατὴρ ἀεσιφροσύνησιν,
Οἳ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο χάριν εὐεργεσιάων,
Δῶκαν δὲ βροντὴν, ἠδ' αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνὸν,
Καὶ στεροπὴν ——
Τοῖς πίσυνος, θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει.

"Solvit vero patruos noxiis a vin-
"culis
"Coeligenes, quos pater amens vin-
"xerat.
"Qui ei retulerunt gratiam benefi-
"ciorum
"Dederuntque tonitru et fulmen et
"fulgur,
"Quibus fretus, mortalibus, immor-
"talibuſque imperat.

Apollodorus (2) tells the ſame ſtory, only with this variation, that it was by the aſſiſtance of his brethren, the elder ſons of Saturn, and not his uncles, that Jupiter dethroned his father. Ennius, from Euemerus, gives another reaſon for Jupiter's dethroning Saturn; that the latter had attempted to take away his life. "Saturno data eſt ſors, ut caveret, ne "filius eum regno expelleret. Ille elevandae ſortis, atque effugiendi "periculi gratia, inſidiatus eſt Jovi, "ut eum necaret. Jupiter cognitis "inſidiis, regnum ſibi denuo vindicavit, ac fugavit Saturnum." Virgil appears to have followed this account (3),

"Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus
"Olympo,
"Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exul
"ademptis.

And Ovid (4),

"Haec ego Saturnum memini tel-
"lure receptum.
"Coelitibus regnis ab Jove pulſus
"erat.

And Aeſchylus, Eumen. 644.

Αὐτὸς δ' ἴδησι πατέρα, πρισβύτην Κρόνον.

USURPING] Lactantius expreſſes himſelf much in the ſame manner, when ſpeaking of this action of Jupiter's (5), "Nonne a prima ſua pue-"ritia impius ac paene parricida de-"prehenditur? Cum patrem regno "expulit ac fugavit. Nec expecta-"vit mortem decrepiti ſenis cupidi-"tate regnandi."

IN CRETE] Heſiod informs us,

(1) Theog. 500. (2) Bib. l. i. c. 2. (3) Aen. viii. 320. (4) Faſt. lib. i. (5) Lib. i. c. 10.

that when Rhea was to bring forth Jove, she fled into Crete, in order to conceal herself from her husband Saturn, and there brought him forth (1).

Πέμψαν δ' ἐς Λύκτον, Κρήτης ἐς πίονα δῆμον,
Οπποτ' ἄρ' ὁπλότατον παίδων ἔμελλε τεκέσθαι,
Ζῆνα μέγαν——

Apollodorus says that Rhea brought forth Jupiter in the Dictaean cave in that island (2), Ῥέα παραγίνεται μὲν εἰς Κρήτην, ὁπηνίκα τὸν Δῖα ἐγκυμόνουσα ἐτύγχανε. Γεννᾷ δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Δίκτης Δῖα. Hence our poet, in another place (3), calls him Dictaean Jove. Ennius in his translation of the sacred history of Euemerus, tells us that he died and was buried in that island. "Deinde Jupiter, aetate pessumacta, in Creta vitam commutavit, et ad Deos abiit, eumque Curetes filii sui curaverunt, decoraveruntque eum, et sepulchrum ejus est in oppido Gnosso—inque sepulchro ejus est inscriptum antiquis literis Graecis ZAN KPONOT." Lactantius (4) cites two verses from the Sybil to the same purpose (5),

Δαίμονας ἀψύχους νεκυῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων
Ὧν Κρήτη καύχημα τάφους ἡ δύσμορος ἴσχε.

"Manes exanimos, simulacraque luce carentum
"Infelix quorum se jactat Creta sepulcris.

Hence Virgil calls Crete the island of Jupiter (6),

"Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto.

Strabo relates the story of the birth of Jupiter in Crete after Hesiod's manner (7), and takes notice of the Orgia, or ceremonies performed in his honour, Εν δὲ τῇ Κρήτῃ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὰ ἰδιὼς ἐπετελεῖτο μετ' Οργιασμοῦ. "In Creta autem praeter haec peculiariter etiam Jovis sacra peraguntur cum Orgiis." Diodorus Siculus mentions two of the name of Jupiter, the first reigned in Crete, died, and was buried there (8), Γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Δία τὸν ἀδελφὸν μὲν Οὐρανοῦ, τῆς δὲ Κρήτης βασιλεύσαντα. Callimachus seems to doubt whether he was born in Crete or Arcadia (9),

Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ιδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσι φασὶ γενέσθαι,
Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Αρκαδίᾳ——

Yet he afterwards says he was carried to Crete to be brought up there,

——Νέδη δέ σε δῶκε κομίσσαι
Κευθμὸν ἔσω Κρηταῖον, ἵνα κρύφα παιδεύοιο.

"——Nedae te dedit portandum
"In recessum Cretensem, ut clam educareris.

(1) Theog. 477. (2) L. i. P. 3. (3) B. x. 84. (4) Lib. i. c. 11. (5) Oracul. Sybil. lib. viii. init. (6) Aen. iii. 104. (7) Lib. x. p. 468. (8) L. iii. p. 194. edit. Rhod. (9) Hym. in Jov. 6.

And Ida known, thence on the ſnowy top
Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle air

Ida] Ida was a famous mountain in Crete, where the poets ſay Jupiter was born and lived for ſome time. Thus Callimachus as above,

(Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ιδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσι φασὶ γενέσθαι.) (1)

However tho' it is certain there was ſuch a mountain in Crete from the teſtimony of the ancient geographers (2), yet it would ſeem more probable, that our poet here means that mount Ida in Phrygia near Troy, where Jupiter was particularly honoured, and thought ſometimes to reſide. Hence Homer calls him Idaean Jove,

Κρονιῶνι Ιδαιῷ ὅστε Τρῶιην κατὰ πασὰν ὄραται.

And Q. Calaber ſpeaking of Idaean Jove (Ιδαιοιο Ζῆνος) adds (3),

Ος Ιλιον αἰὲν ἔοις ἐπιδερκέται ὄσσοις.

" Qui Ilion ſemper ſuis intuetur o-
" culis.

And Aeneas, who was himſelf a Phrygian, gives him the ſame title (4),

" Idaeumque Jovem, Phrygiamque
" ex ordine matrem
" Invocat——

Milton had already mentioned his being known and worſhipped in Crete, ſo that it would have been ſuperfluous to have ſaid any thing more about Ida in that iſland, wherefore he goes on to ſpeak of other places where he was thought to reſide, viz. Ida in Phrygia, and mount Olympus in Theſſaly.

Olympus] This famous mountain divides Macedonia from Theſſaly, as Pauſanias informs us (5). Here Jupiter fixed his reſidence, as we already obſerved from Euemerus. Hence he is generally called Olympius Jupiter, and by Homer ſo frequently Ζεὺς Ολυμπιος (6). The poets always take Olympus for heaven. Thus Virgil ſpeaking of the Apotheoſis of Daphnis (7),

" Candidus inſuetum miratur limen
" Olympi.

Homer conſtantly calls it the ſeat of the Gods (8),

Οφρ' ἐς Ολυμπον ἵκωμαι, ἵν' ἀθανατων ἕδος ἔστι.

And again,

Αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκοντο θεῶν ἕδος, αἰπὺν Ολυμπον.

Milton calls it SNOWY OLYMPUS after Heſiod, who characterizes it in the ſame manner (9),

—ἠχεῖ δὲ καρὴ νιφόεντος Ολύμπου.

" Reſonat verò vertex nivoſi Olym-
" pi.

(1) Vide Apollodor. Bibl. l. i. c. 1. (2) Strab. l. x. 472. Pauſan. l. v. 299. (3) Παρ. l. i. (4) Aen. vii. 139. (5) L. vi. p. 553. (6) Vide Strab. l. viii. p. 642. (7) B. v. 56. (8) Il. v. 360. (9) Theog. 42.

Their higheſt heav'n; or on the Delphian cliff,
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds

DELPHIAN CLIFF] A tranſlation of θεσπέσια Δελφὶς πέτρα. Oed. T. 471. Every one knows this to be the famous oracle of Apollo at Delphos in Phocis, near mount Parnaſſus. The ancients thought it the middle of the earth. Hence Aeſchylus in the Choephorae 1036. calls it

Μεσομφαλὲς ἵδρυμα λοξίου πέδον.

Our poet takes notice of it here with great reaſon, as being one of the moſt famous places in ancient hiſtory for the worſhip of the Pagan Divinities. Theſe two poets agree exactly with the deſcriptions of the ancient geographers. Thus Strabo (1), Δελφοὶ πετρώδες χωρίον, θεατροειδὲς, ΚΑΤΑ ΚΟΡΥΦΗΝ ἔχον τὸ μαντεῖον, καὶ τὴν πολίν, "Delphi, locum ſaxoſum, forma theatri, "in cujus vertice fanum eſt et urbs." Heliodorus' words may ſerve for a commentary to theſe of Strabo, where deſcribing Delphos, οἷον γὰρ φρούριον ἀτειχως καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος ἀκροπόλις ὁ Παρνάσσος ἀπαιώρεται, προποδῶν λαγόσι τὴν πολίν ἐγκολπισάμενος, "Veluti munitio quae-"dam eſt arx natura conſtituta, Par-"naſſus dependet prominentibus la-"teribus, urbem, quaſi ſinu quodam "amplectens." Pauſanias gives us the ſame idea of its ſituation (2), Δελφὶς δὲ ἡ πόλις ἅπασα διὰ παντὸς παρέχεται σχῆμα. "Urbs ipſa Delphis, qua-"vis ex parte in clivum reſupinatur." The ſame author informs us (3), that the town had its name from Delphus the ſon of Apollo and Phya, tho' Apollodorus (4) ſays, that Themis gave oracles in this place before Apollo took poſſeſſion of it. Diodorus Siculus (5) tells us, that this oracle was found out by means of a goatherd, who happening to look down into a hole of the earth (in the ſame ſpot where afterwards the temple was built) became immediately endued with a prophetic ſpirit, and began to foretell future events; which the people in the neighbourhood obſerving, they cauſed erect a temple over this prophetic chaſm, and appointed a prieſteſs to keep it and deliver oracles, being ſeated over this aperture in the ground.

DODONA] This was an oracle of Jupiter, and hence Homer calls him Dodonaeus (6),

Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικὲ, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μέδεων δυσχειμέρου——

The ſcholiaſt on this place informs us, that this at Dodona was the oldeſt

(1) L. ix. p. 418. (2) L. x. p. 624. (3) Ibid. p. 619. (4) Bib. l. i. c. 4. (5) L. xvi. p. 427. edit. Rhodom. (6) Il. xvi. 233.

oracle in Greece, being erected by Deucalion immediately after the deluge which happened in his time, that is, about 1529 years before our Saviour, according to the Arundelian marbles. The reſponſes of this oracle were given from an oak. So Homer (1),

Τὸν δ' ἐς Δωδώνην φάτο βήμεναι, ὄφρα θεοῖο
Ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βυλὴν ἐπακύσῃ.

" Hunc autem in Dodonam dicebat
" ire, ut Dei
" Ex quercu alto Jovis conſilium
" audiret.

And after him Aeſchylus in Prometh. v. 829, giving the place the ſame epithet of STORMY,

Τὴν αἰπύνωτον ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην, ἵνα
Μαντεία, θῶκος τ' ἐστὶ θεσπρωτῶν Διὸς,
Τέρας τ' ἄπιστον, αἱ προσήγοροι δρύες.

And Lucian ſpeaking of this grove of Dodona (2), Ἐκ τῶν ὀροδαμνων ἱεραν ἀπορῥήξασα φῶνην, " Ex ramis ſacram e-
" mittens vocem." Virgil ſeems to allude to this manner of giving oracles (3),

"—Habitae Graiis oracula quercus.

There are different accounts how this ſound was formed, which was thought to proceed from the trees. Suidas ſays this was done by a number of braſs kettles placed contiguous to each other, ſo that one being ſtruck they all reſounded. Pliny from (4) Varro ſays this noiſe was made by bells, but Pauſanias (in Achaicis) aſcribes it to doves kept among the trees (5).

We find by a verſe of Heſiod (6), that the Pelaſgi were the ancient inhabitants of Dodona. The verſe is as follows,

Δωδῶνην, φηγόν τε Πελάσγων, ἑδράνον ἧκεν.

" Dodonam, fagumque Pelaſgorum
" ſedes, venit.

Homer's ſcholiaſt ſays that the Pelaſgi came into this country, being driven out of Boeotia by the Aetoli. Herodotus, when ſpeaking of the oracle of Dodona (7), agrees that the Pelaſgi firſt inhabited that place, adding, that it was the oldeſt oracle in Greece, and for ſome time the only one, Τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενόμισο ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ελλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μοῦνον. The ſame account of it is given by Strabo (8), Ἐστι δὲ (μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν Δωδῶνῃ) Πελασγῶν ἵδρυμα, &c. " Oraculum in Dodona
" fundatum eſt a Pelaſgis, quos fama
" fert eorum qui in Graecia domi-
" nati ſunt, fuiſſe antiquiſſimos." He goes on afterwards to relate an ancient tradition concerning it, that this temple of Dodona was firſt built in Theſſaly, whence it was carried to Dodona, where it remained ever after.

(1) Odyſſ. xix. 296. (2) Amor. (3) Georg. ii. 16. (4) Lib. xxxvi. c. 13. (5) Apoll. l. i. c. 9. (6) Ap. ſchol. Sophoclis in Trachin. (7) L. ii. c. 52. (8) L. vii. p. 327.

Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
Fled over Adria to th' Heſperian fields,

Doric land] This was the name given to ſeveral parts of ancient Greece, which were at different times poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of Dorus the ſon of Helen. Herodotus tells us (1), that their firſt ſettlement was in Phthiotis, after which coming into the Peloponneſus, they gave it the name of Doris. However it would ſeem that this name did not long continue. The country which was properly called Doris comprehends that tract of ground lying betwixt the Ambracian gulph on the Weſt, and the Malian ſea on the Eaſt, being bounded on the North by mount Oeta and Pindus, and on the South by the territory of Agrinium, a city upon the river Acheloüs; in this territory was the Doric Tetrapolis, or four cities, viz. Erineus, Boium, Pindus, Citinium, mentioned frequently by Strabo and the other geographers. However our poet ſeems to have uſed this name in a larger ſenſe; and indeed a great part of Greece ſeems to have uſed the Doric dialect, as Strabo ſays (2), Δοκοῦσι δὲ δωρίζειν ἅπαντες διὰ τὴν συμπάσαν ἐπικράτειαν, "Vi- "dentur autem Doricè loqui omnes, "ob Dorienſium eminentiam." And ſo Aeſchylus in the Perſae v. 183. oppoſes the Doric dreſs in general to that of the Perſians,

Η μὲν πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἠσκημένη
Η δ' αὖτε Δωρικοῖσι.

Stephanus mentions the various migrations of this people (who left their names to different parts of Greece) in Δωριον.

Fled over Adria] Saturn being expelled his kingdom by his ſon Jupiter, took his flight acroſs the Adriatic ſea into Italy, where he afterwards governed jointly with Janus, who is thought to have been the firſt, who brought men to unite together in civil ſocieties in theſe parts. Thus Macrobius (3), "Janus, cum Saturnum claſſe "pervectum excepiſſet hoſpitio, et ab "eo edoctus peritiam ruris, ferum il- "lum, et rudem ante fruges conditas "victum, in melius redegiſſet, regni e- "um ſocietate muneravit." Ennius gives us much the ſame account of his flight (4), "Poſt haec deinde Saturno "data eſt ſors, ut caveret, ne eum fili- "us regno expelleret. Ille—inſidia- "tus eſt Jovi ut eum necaret. Jupi- "ter cognitis inſidiis, regnum ſibi de- "nuo vindicavit ac fugavit Satur- "num. Qui cum jactus eſſet per om- "nes terras, perſequentibus armatis,

(1) Lib. i. c. 56. (2) Lib. viii. p. 333. (3) Sat. l. i. c. 7. (4) Ex Euemeri ſacr. Hiſt.

" quos ad eum comprehendendum,
" vel necandum Jupiter miſerat, vix
" in Italia, locum in quo lateret inve-
" nit." In the ſame manner Virgil(1),

" Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus
" Olympo
" Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exul
" ademptis.
" ——Latiumque vocari
" Maluit, his quoniam latuiſſet tutus
" in oris.

Prudentius talks of it more ironically, as being a Chriſtian (2),

" Sum Deus, advenio fugiens, prae-
" bete latebras,
" Occultate ſenem gnati feritate ty-
" ranni
" Dejectum ſolio——

Virgil ſays that he was the firſt who civilized the ancient inhabitants of Italy, which is to be underſtood of his doing this in conjunction with Janus, as we have before obſerved (3),

" Is genus indocile, et diſperſum
" montibus altis
" Compoſuit, legeſque dedit——

So the Sybil,

Πρῶτισος μὲν ἀνάσσειν ἐπιχθονιῶν Κρόνος ἀνδρῶν.

which muſt be underſtood of the barbarous nations inhabiting Italy when Saturn arrived upon that coaſt. Our poet here calls him OLD, as he was one of the firſt who was honoured as a God in Italy. Thus Macrobius calls him The chief of the Gods (4). " In " hoc Saturni cultu, quem DEORUM " PRINCIPEM dicitis." Bochart has laboured to prove that Saturn and Noah are the ſame perſon (5), by comparing the accounts we have of Saturn in prophane hiſtory, with thoſe of the Patriarch Noah tranſmitted to us by Moſes. But it would ſeem probable from chronology that Saturn is much younger than the aera of the deluge.

HESPERIAN] Heſperia was a name given by the Greeks in common to Italy and Spain, either from Heſperus the brother of Atlas, king of Mauritania, or from the evening ſtar, called Heſperus; the Grecians by this name intimating their Weſtern ſituation with reſpect to them. Thus Dionyſius of Hallicarnaſſus (6), Τὰ δὲ πρὸ τῦτων Ελλήνες μὲν Εσπερίαν αὐτὴν ἐκαλῶν, " Antea enim Graeci Heſperiam " Italiam cognominavere." Virgil gives it this name, as he ſays from the Greeks (7),

" Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cogno-
" mine dicunt
" ——nunc fama minores
" Italiam dixiſſe——

And again (8),

" Ad terram Heſperiam venies—

Lucan calls it by the ſame name (9),

" Finis et Heſperiae promoto limi-
" te Varus.

(1) Aen. viii. 319. (2) Cont. Sym. (3) Aen. viii. 321. (4) Sat. i. c. 7. (5) Phal. l. i. c. 1. (6) Ant. l. i. (7) Aen. i. 781. (8) Aen. ii. 781. (9) L. i. 104.

And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmoſt iſles.
All theſe and more came flocking; but with looks

Spain was alſo called Heſperia, and ſometimes Heſperia Ultima, being the furtheſt part of the then known world to the Weſtward. So Horace (1),

"Qui nunc Heſperia ſoſpes ab ulti-
"ma.

In oppoſition to this, Italy was ſometimes called Heſperia Magna; thus Virgil (2),

"Seu vos Heſperiam magnam, Satur-
"niaque arva.

CELTIC] That third part of France according to the ancient Roman diviſion, which diſtinguiſhed it into Belgia, Aquitania, and Celtica. Thus Caeſar (3), "Gallia eſt omnis "diviſa in partes tres, quarum unam "incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, "tertiam qui ipſorum lingua Celtae, "noſtra Galli appellantur." And Pomponius Mela (4), "A Pyrenaea "ad Garumnam, Aquitania; ab eo "ad Sequanam Celtae, inde ad Rhe-"num pertinent Belgae." Our poet here ſeems to make uſe of the word Celtic, in a larger ſenſe, as comprehending not only Gaul, but alſo Germany. In this he has followed the ancients, who uſed it in the ſame vague and undetermined ſenſe. Thus Plutarch, in his life of Caeſar, uſes promiſcuouſly the names Κελτῶν and Γαλατῶν, Celts and Gauls; and Strabo ſpeaking of Gaul, calls it Τὴν ὑπερ τῶν Αλπεῶν Κέλτικην, "Celticam Tranſ-"alpinam (5)." Suidas calls the Germans upon the Rhine by this name of Celts, Κέλτοι, ὄνομα ἐθνῦς, οἱ λεγόμενοι Γερμάνοι, οἳ ἄμφι. τὸν Ρηνὸν ποτάμον ἅσιν. Nay Cluverius endeavours to make it appear, that not only the Gauls, but the Illyrians, Britons, and Spaniards were anciently called by this common name of Celts, and ſpoke the Celtic language with a ſmall variation of dialects.

OUTMOST ISLES] Milton here means theſe idols which we had from the continent. Our Saxon anceſtors coming over into England, while they were yet Pagans, A. C. CCCCXLIX. brought over the worſhip of their idols with them. The principal Deities that people adored were ſeven, from whoſe names we have ſtill the denomination of the days of the week; the Sun, the Moon, Tuyſco, whence Tueſday, Woden, whence Wedneſday, Thor, whence Thurſday, the the female idol Friga, whence Friday, and Seater, whence Saturday, have their names. Verſtegan has given us

(1) L. i. Od. 36. (2) Aen. i. 569. (3) Bello G. l. i. (4) L. iii. c. 2. (5) L. iv. p. 176.

Down caſt and damp, yet ſuch wherein appear'd
Obſcure ſome glimps of joy, to have found their chief
Not in deſpair, to have found themſelves not loſt
In loſs itſelf; which on his count'nance caſt
Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not ſubſtance, gently rais'd

the names of ſeveral more of the Saxon idols, but theſe are more inconſiderable (1). By the UTMOST ISLES Milton here means Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent iſlands, which by the ancients were thought the outmoſt boundaries of the world,

" Et penitus toto diviſos orbe Bri-
" tannos.

Thus Dio Caſſius tells us, that when A. Plautius was going to lead his army into Britain, the ſoldiers had almoſt mutinied (2), Ὡς ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης στρατευσόντες ἠγανάκτουν, " Indigne fe-
" rentem, quod extra orbem terra-
" rum bellum eſſet gerendum." They talked in the ſame way of Thule, or Schetland (3); Virgil,

" Tibi ſerviat ultima Thule.

And Seneca calls Thule ULTIMA in the ſame ſenſe (4); and Pliny (5), " Ultima omnium (inſularum) quae
" memorantur, Thule." Nay we find the ſame Divinities worſhipped in Iceland as in Germany, viz. Thor, Woden, &c. as Arngrim Jonas informs us (6).

DAMP] Mr. Richardſon in his notes on this place obſerves, that the ſuffocating vapour frequently riſing in mines, is properly called a damp, producing ſickneſs, and even death in thoſe whom it ſurprizes, with pale and ghaſtly countenances, which then may be ſaid to be dampt, or damp. The poet uſes the ſame epithet in another place (7),

—me DAMP horror chill'd
At ſuch bold words—

SEMBLANCE] Appearance. This word is often uſed by Spencer. Thus in the firſt book of the Fairy Queen (8),

(1) Sax. Antiq. c. iii. (2) L. lx. p. 677. (3) Cellar. l. ii. c. 4. Cambd. Brit. Geog. i. 30. (4) Med. 379. (5) L. iv. c. 16. (6) Rev. Iſland. l. i. c. 7. (7) B. v. 65. (8) C. xii. ſt. 35.

Their fainting courage, and diſpell'd their fears.
Then ſtrait commands that at the warlike ſound
Of trumpets loud and clarions be up-rear'd
His mighty ſtandard; that proud honour claim'd
Azazel as his right, a cherub tall:

And often ſemblance made to ſcape
out of their hands.

And again (1),

And to fair ſemblance doth light
faith annex.

GENTLY RAIS'D —— THEIR COURAGE] In imitation of Virgil, who deſcribes Aeneas cheering his men after their eſcape from a terrible ſtorm (2),

"—dictis moerentia pectora mulcet,
"O ſocii (neque enim ignari ſumus
"ante malorum)
"O paſſi graviora. Dabit Deus his
"quoque finem.

Ulyſſes encourages his companions in the ſame manner when about to paſs the rock Scylla (3),

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ διανηὸς ἰὼν ὤτρυνον ἑταίρους
Μαλιχίοις ἐπέεσσι παραστὰς ἄνδρα ἕκαστον.

Milton does not amuſe his reader with repeating the encouraging things Satan might ſay to his angels while they were forming into battle array. He judiciouſly defers Satan's oration to a more quiet moment, and which will give him full leiſure to make it. Euſtathius has the ſame remark upon Homer's conduct on a ſimilar occaſion (4).

CLARIONS] A ſort of ſmall, ſhrill trumpet. Spencer (5),

With ſhaumes and trumpets, and
with CLARIONS ſweet.

Our poet, in another place, calls the voice of the cock a CLARION (6),

—the creſted cock whoſe CLARION
ſounds
The ſilent hours——

AZAZEL] This is the name of one of the Εγρήγοροι, or Angels, who, according to the Jewiſh tradition, fell in love with the daughters of men before the flood, and having polluted themſelves with them, were caſt out of heaven by God, as a puniſhment for their crime. The author of the fragment under the name of the Patriarch Enoch, calls one of their chiefs Azalzel, Αζαλζελ (7): and Epiphanius tells us (8), that Mark, the foun-

(1) B. iii. 1. 54. (2) Aen. i. 201. (3) Odyſſ. xii. 206. (4) Il. xvi. 130. (5) Fairy Queen. (6) B. vii. 443. (7) Ap. Scaliger. not. in Euſeb. Cron. p. 244. (8) Haereſ. 34.

Who forthwith from the glittering ſtaff unfurl'd
Th' imperial enſign, which full high advanc't
Shone like a meteor ſtreaming to the wind
With gems and golden luſtre rich imblaz'd,
Seraphic arms and trophies: all the while
Sonorous metal blowing martial ſounds:
At which the univerſal hoſt upſent

der of the Marcoſian ſect, uſed to invoke the devil, whom he called AZAZEL, and cites the following verſes of an ancient Chriſtian poet to prove his aſſertion,

Α σοὶ χορήγει σὸς πατὴρ Σατὰν αἰεὶ
Δι' ἀγγελίκης δυναμιτῶς Αζαζὴλ ποιεῖ.

Thus tranſlated by Bochart,

" Haec tu illa Satanae fretus auxilio
" patris,
" Azazelique mira deſignas ope.

Origen ſeems to have thought that this was the name of the devil, when he ſays (1), Εν τῷ Λευιτίκῳ Αποπομπαίος, ὃν ἡ Εβραικὴ γραφὴ ὠνόμασεν Αζαζὴλ, οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἦν, " Ille in Levitico Αποπομπαίος " dictus (i. e. Hircus Emiſſarius) (2) " quem ſcriptura Hebraica Azazel " nominat, non alius erat niſi Diabo- " lus."

IMBLAZ'D] Milton here alludes to the well known manner of carrying different figures in the military flags and enſigns. Among the ancients theſe were generally adorned with images of animals, or other figures bearing peculiar relations to the cities they belonged to. Thus the Athenians bore an owl in their enſigns, as being the bird ſacred to Minerva the protectreſs of their city (3); the Thebans, a ſphinx, in memory of the famous monſter deſtroyed by Oedipus, as Corn. Nepos informs us (4). The Perſians carried the figure of the ſun in their military enſigns, as Curtius ſays (5). This cuſtom has been univerſal, and obſerved by almoſt all nations — Vide Gen. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 548. edit. folio.

METAL] Milton here ſays metal in general inſtead of TRUMPETS, as Virgil uſes the word Aes, BRASS, to expreſs the ſame idea (6),

" Aere ciere viros, Martemque ac-
" cendere cantu.

(1) Lib. vi. cont. Celſum. (2) Levit. xvi. 20. (3) Plut. Lyſand. (4) In Epaminond. (5) L. iii. (6) Aen. vi. 165.

A ſhout that tore hell's concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of chaos and old night.
All in a moment through the gloom were ſeen
Ten thouſand banners riſe into the air
With orient colours waving: with them roſe
A foreſt huge of ſpears: and thronging helms 547
Appear'd; and ferried ſhields in thick array
Of depth immeaſurable: anon they move

In the ſame manner Sueton calls the trumpeters Aeneatores (1).

OLD NIGHT] Milton gives night, or darkneſs this epithet, as having reigned in Chaos ever ſince it had a beginning, or even from eternity. Thus in the ſecond book (2),

—where eldeſt Night
And Chaos, anceſtors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy——

Heſiod makes Night the offspring of Chaos (3),

Ex Χάεος δ' Ερεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νὺξ ἐγένοντο.

"Ex Chao vero Erebus, nigraque "nox editi ſunt.

To the ſame purpoſe Heraclides (4) Πρὶν ἢ διακριθῆναι τὰ νῦν βλεπόμενα, Νὺξ ἦν τὸ συμπάν. "Antequam quae nunc vi- "dimus ſecernebantur, Nox per om- "nia fuit." Hyginus (5) calls Nox, or Night the offspring of Chaos and Caligo, or Darkneſs. We ſhall have occaſion to examine the Heathen ſyſtem of creation in another place.

V. 547. This deſcription ſeems imitated from Homer (6),

Ασπὶς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ,
Ψαῦον δ' ἱππόκομοι κόρυθες λαμπροῖσι φάλοισι
Νευόντων. ὡς πυκνοὶ ἐφέσαν ἀλλήλοισι.

So helm to helm, and creſt to creſt they throng;
Shield urg'd on ſhield, and man drove man along;
Thick undiſtinguiſh'd plumes together join'd
Float in one ſea, and wave before the wind. POPE.

(1) Julio. c. xxxii. (2) V. 894. (3) Theog. 123. (4) Alleg. Hom. p. 143. (5) Fab. i. (6) Il. xvi. 215.

In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood

PHALANX] Phalanx in the ſtrict ſenſe of the term, ſignifies a body of foot conſiſting of eight thouſand men (1). Polybius indeed ſays in one place, that it conſiſted of ten thouſand men (2); but elſewhere he mentions one conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand: ſo that it would appear, that the term phalanx was employed indifferently to denote any body of men drawn up in battle array in cloſe order. Thus Q. Curtius ſpeaks of it in general terms (3), "Macedones phalangem "vocant, quando vir viro, armis ar- "ma conſerta ſunt." Theſe words of the Latin hiſtorian may ſerve for a commentary to thoſe of our poet. In the ſame manner Virgil, when ſpeaking only of a few warriors, calls them a phalanx (4),

"At fratres animoſa PHALANX—

And Homer ſpeaking of ſeveral bodies of men (5), Πυκίναι κινύντο φαλάγγες. Virgil applies to the whole Grecian army (6),

"Et jam ARGIVA PHALANX, in- "ſtructis navibus ibat
"A Tenedo——

as Milton here to the whole body of the rebel angels.

DORIAN MOOD] This particular modulation of ſounds called the Dorian, is ſaid to have been invented by Thamyris, a celebrated muſician of ancient Greece. This the epitomizer of Stephanus Byzantius aſſures us of from Doſitheus (7), Δοσίθεος δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει (Δῶριον) φησὶν ὑπο Θαμύριδος εὑρεθῆναι τὴν Δώριαν ἁρμονίαν. "Doſitheus "in urbe, Dorio affirmat a Thamyri- "de inventam harmoniam Doricam." Euſtathius ſays the ſame thing of Thamyris, Εὑρεθῆναι τὴν Δώριαν ἁρμονίαν ὑπο Θαμύριδος. We ſhall have occaſion to mention Thamyris again in another place, and to give ſome account of him, when we come to explain that verſe of our poet (8),

Blind Thamyris, and blind Moeonides.

The Grecians generally diſtinguiſhed their muſic into the Dorian, Phrygian, and Iaſſian. Beſides theſe, there were other diſtinguiſhing names of the different kinds of harmony, but leſs remarkable. Themiſtius, in one of his orations, mentions theſe three ſorts of harmony (9), Λόγων δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα καλὰ φῦλα καὶ κατὰ γένη τινὰς διάκρισεις ὡς ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ μέλη τινὲς διακρίνουσι εἰς Δώρια, καὶ Φρύγια, καὶ Ιασια. "Sermonum non "ego diverſitates calleo, quomodo "harmoniae diſcrepantias quidam "ponunt, in Doricam, Phrygiam, et

(1) Potter Archaeol. Gr. l. iii. c. 6. (2) L. ii. p. 150. edit. folio. (3) L. iii. c. 2. (4) Aen. xii. 277. (5) Il. iv. (6) Aen. ii. 254. (7) Vide Berkel. ad Steph. Byz. p. 326. (8) B. iii. 35. (9) Orat. xix.

" Iaſſiam." We find the Lydian, Phrygian, and Dorian harmonies mentioned by Ariſtotle (1), who, at the ſame time, acquaints us of the different effects theſe ſeveral kinds of muſic produced upon the hearers. Apuleius mentions theſe kinds of harmony, and characterizes them by their different effects in the ſame way; " Antigenidas (ſays he) omnis vocu-
" lae mellitus modulator, et idem om-
" nis modi peritus modificator, ſeu
" tu velles Aeolium ſimplex, ſeu Aſi-
" um varium, ſeu Lydium querulum,
" ſeu Phrygium religioſum, ſeu Do-
" RIUM BELLICOSUM (2)." Ariſtotle (3) gives the ſame character of the Dorian harmony, that it was grave, manly, and auſtere, μισῶς δὲ καθεστηκότως μαλίστα, &c. " Ad aliam
" (muſicam) moderati fiant (homi-
" nes) maximeque ſedati, cujuſmo-
" di quiddam efficere videtur ſola
" ex harmoniis Doria." We ſee how exactly circumſpect our poet is. As the fallen angels were now on their march, he aſſigns them a ſpecies of warlike muſic exactly fitted to their preſent circumſtances, a harmony producing compoſure of mind, patience, and calm valour, not to be ſhaken or diſturbed by the greateſt dangers and ſoreſt evils. Lucian deſcribes this Dorian harmony in the ſame manner as Milton (4), Τῆς Φρυγιῶ, τὸ ἐνθέον, τῆς Λυδιῶ, τὸ Βακχικὸν, τῆς Δώριω, τὸ σεμνὸν, " Phrygiae (harmoniae) impetum di-
" vinum, Lydiae furorem, DORIAE
" GRAVITATEM, Ioniae jucunditatem."

It will not be thought improbable that our poet took this thought of the fallen angels marching to the ſound of flutes, from what we are told of ſome of the ancients, who uſed muſic when going to battle. Polybius tells us (5) that the Cretans were called to action by the ſound of flutes, or αὐλοῖ, or as others ſay, of harps (6). But I believe our poet had particularly in view the Lacedemonians, who, we are aſſured, always began their engagements with a concert of flutes, for which cuſtom Ageſilaus gave this facetious reaſon, that it was to diſtinguiſh cowards; ſuch, by reaſon of their conſternation, not being able to keep time with their feet to the muſic, as was their cuſtom; but the true reaſon ſeems to be what Thucydides alledges, that the ſound of theſe inſtruments (to which they marched with a certain cadence) kept them in order, as the ſilence obſerved on theſe occaſions enabled them to hear more diſtinctly the general's commands. Thus that hiſtorian (7), when about to relate the encounter between them and the Argives, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδεῶς (χωρόντες) καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν, &c. " La-

(1) De Rep. l. viii. c. 5. (2) Florid. iv. (3) Ubi ſup. (4) Harmonid. (5) Lib. iv. (6) Clem. Paedag. l. ii. c. 4. Athen. l. xii. et xiv. (7) Lib. v. §. 70.

Of flutes and ſoft recorders; ſuch as rais'd
To hight of nobleſt temper hero's old
Arming to battel, and inſtead of rage
Deliberate valour breath'd, firm and unmov'd
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat,

" cedaemonii autem lente incedebant,
" et ad cantum multorum tibicinum,
" qui ex lege inter ipſos erant interpo-
" ſiti, non rei divinae gratia, ſed ut ad
" numerum aequabili gradu inceden-
" tes progrederentur, et ne acies diſtra-
" heretur." The manner of their engaging is more particularly deſcribed by Plutarch (1), which was as follows, 'The army being drawn up, and 'the enemy near, the king ſacrificed a 'ſhe-goat, and at the ſame time com-'manded the ſoldiers to adorn their 'heads with garlands, and the muſici-'ans to play the Καστορειον μέλος, or 'Caſtor's hymn, and himſelf advanc-'ing forward, begun the ἐμβατήριος 'παιάν, or ALARM — the muſic lead-'ing them into danger chearful and 'unconcerned. For (continues this 'author) men thus diſpoſed were 'not likely to be poſſeſſed with fear, 'or tranſported with fury, but they 'proceeded with a deliberate valour, 'full of hope and aſſurance, as if ſome 'Divinity had ſenſibly aſſiſted them.' Maximus Tyrius (2) attributes to this method thoſe great ſucceſſes, and numerous victories which have rendered the Spartan name ſo famous in all ſucceeding ages. The author before cited (3) too aſſures that it was the conſtant cuſtom of that people before battle to ſacrifice to the Muſes, that they might be animated to the performance of noble and heroical exploits, deſerving to be tranſmitted by theſe Goddeſſes to poſterity (4). This is the thought Milton expreſſes in the following beautiful verſes,

——ſuch as rais'd
To height of nobleſt temper heroes
old
Arming to battle——

RECORDERS] A ſort of ſmall pipe. Skinner (5) would have it derived " A RECORDANDO, quia olim (ſays " he) ad celebrandum heroum facino-" ra uſurpari ſolebat." He explains it by the Latin Syringa, or Monaulos. This inſtrument is mentioned by Shakeſpear in Hamlet (6).

(1) In Lycurgo. (2) Diſſert. 12 et 21. (3) Plutarch. (4) In Lycurgo. (5) In Etymol. ling. Ang. (6) Act. iii. Sc. 8.

Nor wanting power to mitigate and ſwage
With ſolemn touches, troubled thoughts, and chaſe
Anguiſh and doubt and fear and ſorrow and pain
From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they
Breathing united force with fixed thought

Troubled thoughts] The power of muſic has always been confeſſed to be very great, in calming diſtempered minds, and ſoothing uneaſy thoughts. The cure wrought upon Saul by muſic is well known, and it would be endleſs to enumerate the many inſtances of its influence upon all perſons; for to uſe the words of a celebrated philoſopher (1), Εχει γαρ τι μῦσικη την ἡδονην φυσίκην, &c. "Ineſt enim "in muſica naturalis voluptas, quocir-"ca omnibus aetatibus omnibuſque "moribus, ejus uſus amoenus et gra-"tus eſt," and a little after he lays it down as a maxim, Οτι δυνάται ποιον τι το τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ἡ μυσίκη παρασκεῦαζειν, "Poſſe muſicam mores animi cujuſ-"dammodi effingere ac formare." Homer has repreſented Achilles ſoothing his angry ſoul with the ſound of his harp when the Grecian kings came to implore his aid (2),

Τὸν δ' εὗρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ,
Τῇ ὄγε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν, ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.
Amus'd at eaſe the godlike man they found
Pleas'd with the ſolemn harp's harmonious ſound;
With this he ſooths his angry ſoul, and ſings
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings. Pope.

Cicero tells us (3) that the Pythagoreans uſed to unbend their minds with muſic. "Pythagoraei mentes ſuas a "cogitationum intentione, cantu, fi-"dibuſque ad tranquillitatem tradu-"cere ſolebant." For the ſame reaſon muſic was conſtantly uſed in religious worſhip, as appears both from ſacred and prophane hiſtory.

Breathing united force] This ſeems to be imitated from Homer, who deſcribing the ſilent motion of the Grecian army when going to engage (4),

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Αχαίοι,
Εν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.
But ſilent, breathing rage, reſolv'd, and skill'd

(1) Ariſtot. de Rep. l. viii. c. 5. (2) Il. ix. 186. (3) Tuſcul. iv. (4) Il. iii. 8.

Mov'd on in ſilence to ſoft pipes that charm'd
Their painful ſteps o'er the burnt ſoil; and now
Advanc't in view, they ſtand, a horrid front

By mutual aids to fix a doubtful field,
Swift march the Greeks— POPE.

And in another place (1),

Οἱ δ' Εὔβοιαν ἔχον μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιῖ.

This is explained by Aulus Gellius in the following words, "Sed etiam Achaeos Homerus pugnam indipiſci "ait—mentium animorumque conſpiratu tacito nitibundos (2)."

IN SILENCE] Homer commends the Grecian diſcipline from the ſilence and exact order they obſerved in their march, in oppoſition to the barbarous and confuſed cries and tumult of the Trojans (3),

Ὡς τότ' ἐπασσύτεραι Δαναῶν κίνυντο φάλαγγες
Νωλεμέως πολέμοιο· κέλευε δὲ σῖσιν ἕκαστος
Ἡγεμόνων· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκὴν ἴσαν, οὐδέ κε φαίης
Τοσσον λαὸν ἕπεσθαι ἔχοντ' ἐν στηθέσιν αὐδήν.

So to the fight the thick battalions throng,
Shields urg'd on ſhields, and men drove men along;
Sedate and ſilent move the num'rous bands,
No ſound, no whiſper, but their chiefs commands;
Thoſe only heard. The reſt with awe obey,
As if ſome God had ſnatch'd their voice away. POPE.

Plutarch has the following remark upon the above paſſage (4), Τὸ γὰρ ἐν χέρσι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων, φόβεισθαι τὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀνδρείας ἅμα καὶ πειθάρχιας σημεῖον. 'Obedience to their leaders in an ar-'my juſt going to be attacked, is the 'moſt aſſured ſign both of valour, and 'exact military diſcipline.'

HORRID FRONT] Virgil has given us a deſcription ſomewhat near to this (5),

"Ut ſaepe ingenti bello, cum longa "cohortes
"Explicuit legio, et campo ſtetit "agmen aperto,
"Directaeque acies, et latè fluctuat "omnis
"Aere renidenti tellus——

And Lucretius (6),

"Praeterea magnae legiones, cum "loca curſu
"Camporum complent, belli ſimu-"lachra cientes, &c.

Milton's deſcription is grander and more animated than that of Virgil, who intends only to the regular or-

(1) Il. ii. 536. (2) L. i. c. 11. (3) Il. iv. 427. (4) De aud. Poet.
(5) G. ii. 279. (6) Lib. ii.

Of dreadful length and dazling arms, in guiſe
Of warriers old with order'd ſpear and ſhield,
Awaiting what command their mighty chief
Had to impoſe: he through the armed files
Darts his experienc't eye, and ſoon traverſe
The whole battalion views, their order due,
Their viſages and ſtature as of Gods,
Their number laſt he ſumms. And now his heart
Diſtends with pride, and hardning in his ſtrength
Glories: for never ſince created man, 573
Met ſuch embodied force, as nam'd with theſe
Could merit more then that ſmall infantry

der of the lines. By throwing in the words

Advanc'd in view——

he makes the reader unexpectedly a ſpectator of the whole army of angels.

ORDER'D SPEAR AND SHIELD] Our poet here uſes this word in the military ſenſe, in which arms are ſaid to be ORDERED, when the ſoldier ſtands holding them upright in his hands, ready to uſe them as his general ſhall direct.

CREATED MAN, MET] This is the true pointing, with a comma at the end of v. 573. and accordingly we find it in the ſtandard edition of this poem, in the year 1674. The expreſſion is properly a Latin idiom, POST HOMINEM FORMATUM, ſince created man, and the ſenſe is, that never ſince man was created, had ſo great an embodied force met together in one place.

SMALL INFANTRY] By the ſmall infantry Milton means the Pigmies, who are fabled to have been a nation of men vaſtly inferior in ſize to the reſt of mankind, inſomuch that they were at continual war with the Cranes, who often attacked them, deſtroying their harveſt, and ſometimes carrying them off in their claws. This fable is certainly very ancient, for we find

it mentioned by Homer, who compares the noiſe the Trojans made to that of cranes, when going to attack this diminutive race of men (1),

Ἥὔτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρὸ
Κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων
Ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι.

To warmer ſeas the cranes embodied fly
With noiſe and order, through the mid-way sky;
To Pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war deſcends upon the wing. POPE.

The ſcholiaſt upon this paſſage informs us, that the Pigmies were a ſmall nation much addicted to agriculture. They lived near the ocean (i. e. the Nile) in the uppermoſt parts of Egypt, and made war upon the cranes, when theſe fowls came to devour their harveſt, Ἔστι δὲ ἔθνος γεωργικὸν ἀνθρώπων μικρῶν, κατοικούντων εἰς τὰ ἀνωτάτω μέρη τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς γῆς, πλησίον τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, &c. Ariſtotle gives much the ſame account of them (2), Μετὰ Ϛαλλυσι γὰρ (αἱ γεράνοι) ἐκ τῶν Σκυθίκων, &c. "Tranſeunt enim (grues) e Scy-
"thicis campis, ad paludes quae ſunt
"ſupra Aegyptum, unde profluat Ni-
"lus. Eſt autem locus ille circa quem
"Pygmaei degunt." He adds, that this is not to be reckoned altogether a fable, οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο μυθώδες, &c. "Ne-
"que enim eſt fabula (ſcil. quae de
"Pygmaeis traduntur) ſed revera (ut
"aſſerunt) hominum et equorum ge-
"nus puſillum eſt." Pliny mentions theſe Pygmies (3), "Quidam et Pyg-
"maeorum gentem prodiderunt ante
"paludes, ex quibus Nilus oriretur."
And in another place he gives a more circumſtantial account of them (4),
"Super hos, extrema in parte mon-
"tium Spithamaei Pygmaei narran-
"tur, ternas Spithamas, hoc eſt ter-
"nos dodrantes non excedentes——
"Fama eſt, inſidentes arietum, ca-
"prarumque dorſis, armatos ſagittis,
"veris tempore univerſo agmine ad
"mare deſcendere, et ova, pulloſque
"earum alitum (gruum) conſumere
"——aliter futuris gregibus non re-
"ſiſti." The ſame author mentions another nation of Pygmies in Thrace (5), "Gerania, ubi Pygmaeorum gens
"fuiſſe proditur, quos Catizos Bar-
"bari vocant, creduntque a gruibus
"fugatos." Of theſe two it is thought, muſt Nonoſus be underſtood, when he deſcribes a nation of very ſmall ſtature which he ſaw in his travels (6), Ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην τῶν νησῶν κατηντήκοτι, &c.
"Ad extremam inſularum delato, ta-
"le quid accidit, vel ipſo auditu mi-
"randum. Incidit enim in quoſdam
"forma quidem humana, ſed ſtatura
"breviſſimos, et colore nigros, toto-

(1) Il. iii. 3. (2) Hiſt. Anim. l. viii. c. 12. (3) L. vi. c. 30. (4) L. vii. c. 2.
(5) L. iv. c. 11. (6) Ap. Phot. Bibl. Cod. iii.

"que corpore piloſos. Sequebantur vi-
"ros propè aequales foeminae, et pu-
"eri adhuc breviores." Cteſias places theſe Pygmies in the middle parts of India, tho' he deſcribes them much after the ſame manner that other authors have done (1), Εν μέσῃ τῇ Ινδίκῃ (ſays he) ἄνθρωποι εἰσι μελάνες, &c. "In "media India narrat homines reperi-
"ri nigros, qui Pygmaei dicuntur. "Eâdem hos quâ Indi reliqui linguâ "uti, ſed valde eſſe parvos, ut maxi-
"mi duorum cubitorum et plerique "unius duntaxat cubiti cum dimidio, "non excedant. Comam alere lon-
"giſſimam, &c." The ſame fabulous account we have in Aelian's hiſtory of animals (2), and other writers. Juvenal has mentioned them (3),

"Ad ſubitas Thracum volucres, nu-
"bemque ſonoram
"Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in
"armis:
"Mox impar hoſti, raptuſque per
"aëra curvis
"Unguibus a ſaeva fertur grue ——

Bochart in his Geographia Sacra has placed this nation upon the confines of the Trogloditae, and endeavours to account for the fables the poets have told us of them, by ſaying that this nation might have really been of a ſmaller ſtature than the neighbouring nations, tho' not ſo diminutive as they have been repreſented by ancient writers. Tho' Bochart has placed them ſo far in the Eaſtern parts of the world, yet we find ſome of the ſame race in thoſe furtheſt North. Thus Olaus Magnus (4) tells us, that in the iſland Grundland near Iceland, the inhabitants, who are of a Pygmaean ſtature, are obliged continually to be on their guard againſt the cranes, who often aſſault them. But this perhaps will be reckoned one of the many fabulous narrations, with which that author has ſtuffed his book.

As this note has run out into ſome length, the reader may expect it complete on the ſubject; for which reaſon I ſhall add what elſe occurs. We find that Strabo treats this ſtory of the Pygmies as a mere fable (5), mentioning it among other idle tales, Ενεκαίνισαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ομηρικὴν τῶν Πυγμαίων γερανομαχίαν, "Renova-
"runt quoque veterem Homeri de "pugna Pygmaeorum fabulam." Among the moderns Scaliger (6) is of Strabo's opinion, for this reaſon, that there is no ſuch creature now exiſting in the world. Harduin (7) and Caſaubon (8) ſay the ſame thing. Voſſius (9), after wondring at the credulity of thoſe who aſſert this fable, goes on in the following words, "At-

(1) Ap. Phot. Bib. Cod. lxxii. (2) L. xv. c. 29. (3) Sat. xiii. 167. (4) De Gent. Sept. l. ii. c. 11. (5) Lib. ii. p. 70. (6) Com. ad Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. (7) Not. ad Plin. lib. vi. §. 22. (8) Not. addict. Strab. loc. (9) De Nili origin. cap. xix.

Warr'd on by cranes: though all the giant brood
Of Phlegra with th' heroic race were join'd

" tamen ut ſolent fabellae non de ni-
" hilo fingi, et aliquid plerumque con-
" tinent veri, idipſum quoque hic fac-
" tum exiſtimo. Certum quippe eſt
" ultra Nili fontes, multos reperiri
" NANOS, qui tamen non cum grui-
" bus, ſed cum elephantis perpetuum
" gerunt bellum——Habitant in ſyl-
" vis, et mira dexteritate elephantos
" ſagittis conficiunt." It is ſtrange that this author ſhould aſſert a fact equally liable to doubt with theſe he had juſt before rejected. It is one of the precepts of the Talmud (1), " Na-
" nus ne ducat Nanam, ne forte ori-
" atur ex illis digitalis." Dapper mentions a nation of dwarfs in Lower Ethiopia, in the province Bockmeale, who live by elephant hunting. We ſee that all theſe authors place them in the heart of Africa, either in Nubia or Ethiopia. On the contrary, the Nubian geographer, who certainly may be ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted with his country, has ſent them to the regions furtheſt North (2), " Et om-
" nes illi ſunt ſtaturae breviſſimae, ita
" ut viri inter eos non excedunt tres
" palmos, et foeminae eorum ſimili-
" ter." Other writers again have placed them in India (3). Ludolf thinks ſuch creatures might have exiſted, For why (ſays he) might there not have been Pygmies, as well as giants, which no body queſtions? he thinks the fable of their war with the cranes, had its riſe from what we are told of a monſtrous bird in the Inner Africa, called CONDORA, which is ſaid to be ſo ſtrong as even to carry away an elephant's foal. The firſt relater, not knowing the name of this bird, might call it a CRANE, in the ſame manner as the Romans called the elephants of old LUCAS BOVES, and Plautus (4) uſes the word PICUS for a gryphon,

" Pici divitiis, qui aureos montes
" colunt
" Ego ſupero——

PHLEGRA] This was a plain in Italy near Cumae, where, according to ancient fable, the giants, ſons of the earth dwelt, whom Hercules aſſiſted by the Gods, deſtroyed. Thus Apollodorus (5), Ηκε δὲ (Ηράκλης) εἰς Φλέγραν, ϗ μιᾷ θιῶν, κατεπολέμησε γίγαντας. In another place (6) he deſcribes theſe giants as men of enormous ſtrength and ſtature; this is confirmed

(1) Ap. Ludolf. Com. ad Hiſt. Aethiop. p. 69. ſeq. (2) Ex verſ. (3) Vide Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. ix. Plin. N. H. lib. vii. c. 2. (4) Aulul. act. iv. ſc. 8. (5) Bib. l. ii. c. 7. (6) L. i. c. 6.

by what Diodorus Siculus ſays (1), Ὁ δ' ὢν Ἡράκλης κατηντήσεν ὡς τὸ Κυμαῖον πεδίον, &c. "Hercules in Cumaeam "deſcendit planiciem, ubi homines "roboris immanitate, et violentia fa-"cinorum infames, quos gigantas "nominant, egiſſe fabulantur. Phle-"graeus quoque campus is locus ap-"pellatur." A little after he gives us an account of the battle between them and Hercules, Θαυμάσης δὲ γενόμενης μαχῆς, &c. "Commiſſa pro viribus et fero-"cia gigantum, acerrima pugna, Her-"cules Deorum adjutus auxilio, vic-"toriam adeptus eſt, pleriſque tru-"cidatis, regionem illam pacavit."

Moſt of the ancient poets have taken occaſion to celebrate this combat of the giants. Thus Ovid (2),

"——prius cecini plectro graviore
"gigantas
"Sparſaque Phlegraeis victricia ful-
"mina campis.

Lucan (3),

"Non aliter, Phlegra rabidos tol-
"lente gigantas
"Martius incaluit Siculis incudibus
"enſis.

And again (4),

"—Coeloque timente
"Olim Phlegraeo ſtantes ſerpente
"gigantes,
"Erexit montes, bellumque imma-
"ne Deorum
"Pallados e medio confecit pectore
"Gorgon.

Statius repreſents this combat as celebrated by Apollo in his ſongs (5),

"—citharaeque manus inſertus A-
"pollo
"Orſa Deum (nam ſaepe Jovem,
"Phlegramque ſuique
"Anguis opus, fratrumque pius can-
"tarat honores.)

In another place he compares Achilles to Jupiter going to fight againſt the Phlegraean giants (6),

"Sic cum bellantes Phlegraea in
"caſtra coirent
"Coelicolae, &c.

Strabo has left us an account of the origin of this fable. He ſays it took riſe from different people claiming a right to this territory, and aſſerting it by force of arms, on account of the richneſs of the ſoil, Καὶ τὸ Φλέγραιον καλούμενον πεδίον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ περὶ τοὺς γίγαντας μυθεύουσιν οὐκ ἀλλοθεῖ, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆ περιμάχητον τὴν γῆν εἶναι διαρετήν (7). In the ſame book he obſerves, that the ſoil about Cumae and Baiae, being full of ſulphur, gave occaſion to the fable of the giants being thunderſtruck in this place. To this Silius ſeems to allude (8),

"——illic quos ſulphure pingues
"Phlegraei legere ſinus——

(1) L. iv. p. 159. (2) Metam. l. x. 150. (3) L. vii. 145. (4) L. ix. 655. (5) Theb. vi. 356. (6) Achill. l. i. 484. (7) L. v. p. 243. (8) Lib. viii.

That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
Mixt with auxiliar Gods; and what resounds
In fable or romance of Uther's son

THEBES AND ILIUM] These two famous sieges of Thebes and Troy, are too well known from the writings of the poets who have celebrated them, to need any further account to be given here. The captains who commanded the troops in these wars, were almost all, either the sons or grandsons of some God or hero, and therefore our poet calls them the HEROIC RACE. Chronologers place the war of Troy in the year before our Saviour MCCIX (1), and that of Thebes thirty seven years before it.

UTHER'S SON] Milton alludes to the history of prince Arthur, son to Uther Pendragon; he was the last prop of the expiring liberty of the British, who under the conduct of this famous general, obtained many victories against the Saxons. Arthur flourished in the sixth century, and was killed in battle against his nephew Modred, who had debauched his queen in the year DXLII (2). It is to be observed, that as Milton is here mentioning romantic subjects only, he calls Arthur the son of Uther, but these who are most versed in the British history maintain, that UTHER was only a firname given to the great Arthur, on account of his many victories over the Saxons, the word being capable of that sense in the old British language, and that he was called Pendragon from his wearing a dragon for his crest (3). Geoffry of Mounmouth says, that Uther Pendragon king of Wales, fell in love with the wife of Gorlois prince of Cornwall, and having by his knowledge of magic assumed the shape of her husband, he begat the famous Arthur (4). We meet with another etymology of this name of Arthur in Cambden (5), that he was called Mab-Uter, i. e. A HORRIBLE SON, because from his childhood he was of a cruel temper, and ARTHUR, which signifies a horrible bear, or an iron hammer to break the teeth of lions. He is said to have instituted the order of knights of the round table, so famous in romances. His body was found in the Abbey of Glassenbury in the time of Henry II. with an inscription upon the coffin in ancient characters, importing, that the great Arthur king of the Britons was buried there.

(1) Marmor. Arundel. (2) Rapin. Hist. of Engl. b. ii. (3) Rapin. ibid. (4) Lewis Hist. Brit. c. iii. b. 6. (5) Camb. Britan. p. 11. Brit. p. 66.

Begirt with Britiſh and Armoric knights;
And all who ſince, baptiz'd or infidel

Armoric] Armorica, a province of France, now called Bretagne. The fabulous writers have told many romantic ſtories of the exploits of King Arthur in Aremorica, as well as in England. It is indeed true, that in the year 01. Arthur being reduced to the greateſt ſtreights, by the incurſions of the Saxons, who were continually landing in great bodies in England, had recourſe to his nephew Hoel, at that time king of Armorica. This young prince greedy of glory, immediately put himſelf at the head of 15000 men (1), by which reinforcement Arthur was again enabled to attack the enemy, over whom he obtained a complete victory (2). In return of this favour, Hoel having deſired his uncle's aſſiſtance ſometime after, Arthur complied with his requeſt, and went over to Armorica. This expedition however proved fatal to him; the traitor Modred, to whom he had committed the adminiſtration of the kingdom, and the care of his wife during his abſence, firſt debauched his queen, and then uſurped his throne. Polydore Virgil has enumerated the fabulous exploits attributed to Arthur in the following words(3), "De hoc (Arthuro) propter ingentes pariter corporis vires, atque animi virtutes, poſteritas ea ferme praedicavit, quae de Rolando Caroli Magni ex ſorore nepote memoria noſtra apud Italos decantantur——quod tres bello ſuperaſſet Saxonum duces, quod Scotiam cum vicinis inſulis in ſuam poteſtatem redegiſſet, quod Romanos in agro Pariſiorum cum quodam Lucio eorum duce, deleviſſet, Galliamque devaſtaſſet, ac demum gigantes homines valentes pugnando occidiſſet." So Lewis ſays (4), that at the battle of Badon-hill, Arthur killed with his own hand 470 Saxons. In the following chapters he gives a very circumſtantial account of his conquering Norway, Ireland, Thule, his fighting Pollio, the Emperor Leo's general in France, and many other romantic ſtories of the ſame kind, which the author affirms he had collected out of the ancient Britiſh hiſtories. To theſe fabulous exploits our poet here plainly alludes, as he joins them with the other ſubjects of romance that follow, and which he was perfectly well acquainted with, as the authors of his life tell us, that

(1) Lewis Hiſt. b. vi. c. 2. (2) Rapin. b. ii. (3) Angl. Hiſt. lib. iii. (4) Hiſt. Brit. b. vi. c. 3.

Jouſted in Aſpramount or Montalban,
Damaſco, or Marocco, or Trebiſond,
Or whom Biſerta ſent from Afric ſhore

in his younger days he was fond of reading romances, the ſtories of which, tho' fabulous, contributed to enlarge his imagination.

JOUSTED] The proper term for theſe ſingle combats, which of old were performed in compleat armour, within an incloſed field called THE LIST. Romance writers are full of the deſcriptions of theſe combats, and their heroes fabulous exploits performed in them. It was cuſtomary many ages all over Europe for people to decide their private differences by ſuch combats, which were generally performed in the preſence of the king, who gave judgment according to the event of the duel, the vanquiſhed being declared guilty. However, we find that they were not generally approved of, for we ſee Agobard, archbiſhop of Lyons, who flouriſhed in the ninth century, writing a treatiſe againſt them, which he entitles, "Liber, adverſus legem Gundobardi, et "impia certamina quae per eam ge-"runtur." The Chronicon of Tours attributes the invention of theſe combats to a certain Godefroi lord of Preuilli, who died MLXVI. But as we find theſe combats mentioned before his time, it would rather ſeem that this nobleman invented the laws and ceremonies obſerved on ſuch occaſions. The fatal accidents which frequently attended theſe combats, gave occaſion to Pope Innocent II. about the year MCXL. and Eugenius in the Lateran council MCLXXIX. to forbid the tournaments altogether, and to excommunicate any who ſhould enter the liſts. However anathemas ſeem not to have had the effect; for a long while after this, in the year MDLIX. Henry II. king of France, loſt his life at a tournament, by the ſplinter of a launce (1).

The places which our poet takes notice of in this and the next verſe, are ſuch as have been made the ſcenes of theſe combats between the Sarracens and Chriſtians, in Europe and Paleſtine, by Arioſto, Taſſo, and other writers of Romance.

BISERTA] The modern name of the ancient Utica, in the kingdom of Tunis in Africa, famous for the death of Cato, who killed himſelf there: Milton here alludes to the ſtory of Arioſto, who, in the beginning of his Or-

(1) Mezeray.

When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
By Fontarabia. Thus far theſe beyond
Compare of mortal proweſs, yet obſerv'd
Their dread commander: he, above the reſt
In ſhape and geſture proudly eminent

lando Furioſo, ſays the Moors came from hence to attack Charlemagne, (1),

" Le corteſie, l'audaci impreſe io
" canto
" Che furo al tempo, che paſſaro i
" Mori
" D'Africa il mare, e in Francia na-
" quer tanto
" Sequende l'ire e'l giovenil furori
" D'Agramante lor Re, che ſi die
" vanto
" Di vendicar la morte di Trojano
" Sopra Re Carlo, imperator Ro-
" mano.

V. 586. The ſtory Milton here alludes to, happened in the year DCCLXXVIII. according to Mezeray, who informs us, that Charlemagne having made an expedition into Spain, gained ſeveral advantages over the Sarracen princes in that country. But returning back over the Pyrenean mountains in his way home, the Gaſcognes inhabiting the hills, fell upon him at the paſs of Roncevalles, and carried off his baggage which marched with the rear-guard, killing ſeveral great men, amongſt others Egobard, grand maſter of the emperor's table, and the famous Roland, or Orlando his nephew. The fabulous Spaniſh writers hence took occaſion to ſay, that Charlemagne and his twelve peers fell there. Charles died long after this, in the year DCCCXIV.

V. 590. Nothing will contribute more to evince the ſuperior art of our great poet in this ſublime deſcription of the fallen angels, than to compare it with that of another poet, who has been greatly admired in treating the ſame ſubject. It is Taſſo I mean, who in the fourth book of his GIERUSALEMME LIBERATA, deſcribing the devil calling together the infernal ſpirits, has the following verſes (2),

" D'eſſi parte a ſiniſtra, e parte a
" deſtra
" A ſeder vanno al crudo Re da-
" vante,
" Sieda Pluton nel mezzo, e con la
" deſtra

(1) Canto i. l. 2. (2) St. 6.

" Soſtien lo ſcettro ruvido e pe-
" ſante.
" Ne tanto ſcoglio in mar, ne rupe
" alpeſtra
" Ne par Calpe s'inalza, o'l magno
" Atlante
" Ch' anzi lui non pareſſe un picci-
" ol colle
" Si la gran fronte, e le gran corna
" eſtolle.

For the ſake of ſuch of our readers as may not underſtand the original, we ſhall ſubjoin Fairfax's tranſlation, which tho' none of the moſt elegant, may ſerve to communicate ſome of his author's ideas upon the ſubject now before us.

About their prince each took his wonted ſeat
On thrones red hot, y built of burning braſs,
Pluto in midſt heav'd his trident great,
Of ruſty iron huge that formed was.
The rocks on which the ſalt-ſea billows beat,
And Atlas top, the clouds in height that paſs,
Compar'd to his huge perſon, mole hills be
To his rough front, his horns ſo lifted he.

Here is the following part of Taſſo's deſcription (2),

" Horrida maeſta nel fiero aſpetto
" Terrore accreſce, e piu ſuperbo il
" rende.
" Roſſegian gli occhi, e di veneno
" infetto,
" Come infauſta cometa, il guardo
" ſplende.
" Gl' involve il mento, e ſu l' hirſu-
" to petto
" Hiſpida, e folta la gran barba ſcen-
" de;
" E in guiſa di voragine profonda
" S'apre la bocca d'atro ſangue im-
" monda.

The tyrant proud frown'd from his lofty cell,
And with his looks made all his monſters tremble;
His eyes that full of rage and venom ſwell,
Two beacons ſeem, that men to arms aſſemble;
His felter'd locks that on his boſom fell,
On rugged mountains, briars and thorns reſemble;
His foaming mouth, that foamed clotted blood
Gap'd like a whirlepool tide in Stygian flood.

The ſuperior excellence of Milton's deſcription is manifeſt in his avoiding the low and childiſh repreſentation of the devil's form, which the Italian poet has given us, and in his painting the inward character, and his faded greatneſs, in a manner ſo truly noble, and by an image ſo expreſſive and ſublime, as is that contained in theſe verſes,

(1) Lib. iv. ſt. 7.

Stood like a tower; his form had yet not loſt
All her original brightneſs, nor appear'd
Leſs than archangel ruin'd, and th' exceſs
Of glory obſcur'd: as when the ſun new ris'n
Looks through the horizontal miſty air

As when the ſun new ris'n, &c. In Taſſo there is preſented to our view a mere heap of rubbiſh, which can neither pleaſe the eye, nor touch any paſſion of the ſoul. In Milton's deſcription we ſee the noble ruins of a ſtately palace, where ſome parts of its original magnificence and grandure may be diſcerned, and which is proper to pleaſe the fancy and affect the heart. We may further obſerve our poet's ſuperior art, in the manner of his deſcribing the pre-eminence of the apoſtate archangel. Taſſo cannot convey this idea to us in any better way, than by repreſenting him as a ſtern tyrant, and the inferior ſpirits as trembling ſlaves; whilſt Milton rejects this manner, and without degrading them too far, well knows how to maintain the diſtinction of character and ſtation, by the daring ſentiments which he utters, by the regard paid to him, and by diſcovering to us in ſo ſtrong a manner the unconquered fierceneſs of his ſoul. We ſhall find as much difference in the deſcription the two poets give of the inferior devils. Here is Taſſo's (1),

" Stampano alcuni il ſuol di ferine
" orme
" E'n fronte humana han chiome
" d' angui attorte
" E lor s'aggira dietro immenſa co-
" da,
" Che quaſi sferza ſi ripiega, e ſno-
" da.

Theſe verſes contain but a wretched and contemptible deſcription of the inferior angels. But with what majeſty of ſtyle, and decency of images, does our great poet paint theſe inferior ſpirits, great even in their fall, and powerful in a ſtate of dejection, and bearing in their form ſome traces (tho' much impaired) of their late heavenly dignity and ſplendor.

Tower] So Homer compares one of his heroes to a tower falling (2),

Ηριπε δ' ὡς ὅτε πύργος ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ.

So ſinks a tower, that long aſſaults had ſtood
Of force and fire—— Pope.

Horizontal air] The deſcription here is finely applied to paint

(1) L. iv. ſt. 4. (2) Il. iv. 462.

Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon,
In dim eclips diſaſtrous twilight ſheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Dark'n'd ſo, yet ſhone
Above them all th' archangel: but his face

the appearance the ſun makes juſt appearing above the horizon in a foggy morning, when his disk looks bald, and as Milton expreſſes it 'Shorn of 'his beams,' without that blaze of light, which he ſheds about him at noon. The grandeur of the ſimile itſelf is too ſtriking to need any remark.

PERPLEXES MONARCHS] It is a very ancient notion, that the eclipſes of the ſun portend the death of kings, and revolutions in the government of nations. We find the poets generally taking notice of this phoenomenon as a ſingular prodigy. Thus Virgil (1),

" —Solem quis dicere falſum
" Audeat? ille etiam caecos inſtare
" tumultus
" Saepe monet, fraudemque, et o-
" perta tumeſcere bella.

He afterwards mentions the eclipſe of the ſun as one of the prognoſtics of the civil wars between Antony and Brutus, after Julius Caeſar's death,

" Ille etiam extincto miſeratus Cae-
" ſare Romam,
" Cum caput obſcura nitidum fer-
" rugine texit,
" Impiaque aeternam timuerunt ſae-
" cula noctem.

Pliny makes the ſame obſervation (2), " Fiunt prodigioſi, et longiores ſolis " defectus, qualis occiſo dictatore " Caeſare, et Antoniano bello, totius " paene anni pallore continuo." Petronius (3),

" Continuo clades hominum, ven-
" turaque damna
" Auſpiciis patuere Deûm. namque
" ore cruento
" Deformis Titan vultus caligine
" texit.

Capitolinus has a reflection of the ſame kind (4), " Indicium non diu impe- " raturi Gordiani hoc fuit, quod e- " clipſis ſolis facta eſt." And Manilius ſpeaking of the ſtars in general (5),

" Civiles etiam motus, cognataque
" bella

(1) G. i. 463. (2) L. ii. c. 30. (3) In frag. de bello civ. (4) In Gordian. (5) L. i. 904.

Deep ſcars of thunder had intrencht, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under browes
Of dauntleſs courage, and conſiderate pride
Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but caſt
Signs of remorſe and paſſion to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
(Far other once beheld in bliſs) condemn'd
For ever now to have their lot in pain.
Millions of ſpirits for his fault amerc'd

" Significant. nec plura alias incen-
" dia mundus
" Suſtinuit, quam cum ducibus ju-
" rata cruentis
" Arma Philippaeos implerunt ag-
" mine campos.

Apollonius in his catalogue of prodigies does not forget the eclipſe of the ſun (1),

Ηε χ' ἥλιος μεσῶ ἤματι νύκτ' ἐπαγήσιν
Οὐρανοθεν τάδε λαμπρὰ δι' ἤερος ἄστρα φαεῖναι.

Scars of thunder] Milton is perpetually recalling to the reader's thoughts the puniſhment of Satan. He loves to dwell upon the grand moral of his poem, and always keeps us in mind of the fatal effects of diſobedience to the will of God. He here takes notice of the ſcars of thunder remaining upon Satan's face; and it was an old opinion, that the wounds made by thunder were not to be cured in a very long time. Thus Homer makes Jupiter ſay (2),

Οὐδέ κεν ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτοὺς
Ελκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον, ἃ κεν μάρψησι κεραυνός.

Condemn'd for ten revolving years to weep
The wounds impreſs'd by burning thunder deep. Pope.

Amerc'd] This is properly a law term ſignifying to fine. Thus Shakeſpear uſes it in Romeo and Juliet (3),

But I'll amerce you with ſo ſtrong a fine.

Minſhew and Skinner derive it from the obſolete Norman amercier, that is without mercy.

(1) Argon. l. iv. (2) Il. viii. 404. (3) Act iii.

Of heav'n, and from eternal ſplendors flung
For his revolt, yet faithful how they ſtood,
Their glory wither'd. As when heaven's fire
Hath ſcath'd the forreſt oaks, or mountain pines,
With ſinged top their ſtately growth though bare

FAITHFUL HOW THEY STOOD] Nothing can be more moving than the picture drawn here by our poet of the condition, to which theſe apoſtate ſpirits had reduced themſelves by their rebellion. It is heightned by the moſt maſterly ſtroaks of fancy. The contraſts between their former glorious appearance and preſent miſery is ſtrongly inculcated upon the mind of the reader, and is a proof of our poet's skill in the management of the paſſions.

SCATH'D] Scath is an old word ſignifying HURT, or DAMAGE; from the Dutch SCHAEDEN, to hurt. Chaucer in the prologue to his Canterbury Tales uſes it (1),

Bot ſhe was ſomedele deſe, and that was SCATHE.

Spencer in the ſame ſenſe in his Fairy Queen (2),

To work new wae, and unprovided SCATHE.

And again (3),

Mate breed him SCATHE unawares--

We find that Homer has deſcribed the effects of lightning upon an oak, much in the ſame manner as Milton has done, tho' he has applied it differently (4),

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὑπαὶ ῥιπῆς πατρὸς Διὸς ἐξεράπη δρῦς
Πρόῤῥιζος, δεινὴ δὲ θεείου γίνεται ὀδμὴ
Ἐξ αὐτῆς——

As when the bolt, red-hiſſing from above,
Darts on the conſecrated plant of Jove,
The mountain-oak in flaming ruin lies,
Black from the blow, and ſmokes of ſulphur riſe. POPE.

It muſt however be obſerved, that Milton's deſcription of the effect of lightning upon an oak, ſeems more popular than that of the Grecian poet, as the flame does not generally overthrow the tree and tear it up by the roots, but ſinges the leaves, and burns the branches, ſo as to make it appear bare and withered.

STATELY GROWTH] Milton in this compariſon of the fallen angels

(1) V. 488. (2) 1 C. xii. ſt. 34. (3) 3 C. i. ſt. 37. (4) Il. xiv. 414.

Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepar'd
To speak; whereat their doubl'd ranks they bend

to oaks, seems to have followed Virgil, who uses the same simile, when speaking of the Cyclops (1),

" Aetnaeos fratres, coelo capita alta
" ferentes
" Concilium horrendum. quales cum
" vertice celso
" Aëriae quercus, aut corniferae cy-
" parissae
" Constiterant——

In another place he compares Pandarus and Bitias to two oaks (2),

" Quales aëriae liquentia flumina
" circum
" Consurgunt geminae quercus, in-
" tonsaque coelo
" Attollunt capita, et sublimi verti-
" ce nutant.

Virgil has borrowed this simile from Homer, who makes use of it upon an occasion of the same kind (3),

Εσασαν, ὡς ὅτε τε δρύες ὑρεσιν ὑψικάρηνοι
Αἴτ' ἄνεμον μίμνουσι χ ὑετὸν ἅμαλα πάνλα,
Ρίζῃσιν μεγάλῃσι διηνέκεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι.

As two tall oaks before the wall they
rise,
Their roots in earth, their heads a-
mid the skies,
Whose spreading arms, with leafy
honours crown'd,
Forbid the tempest, and protect the
ground. Pope.

It may be thought, that these great poets, by applying this simile to men, have rather exceeded. This cannot be laid to Milton's charge, who is describing angels. It is easy to observe what a noble addition he has made to this simile, by describing the oaks thunderstruck, as these rebellious angels had been. This adds a grace and aptitude to his description, which is not to be met with in any of the others.

Doubl'd ranks they bend] Satan having placed himself opposite to the centre of his army, those in the extremities of the two wings could not so conveniently hear their general speak, unless they approached nearer the centre, by making a sort of semicircular figure, which the poet expresses by bending their ranks from wing to wing. We find Homer describing the attention of the Myrmidons to Achilles, by this closing of their ranks, upon that hero's addressing himself to speak (4),

Μᾶλλον δὲ σίχες ἄρθεν, ἐπεὶ βασιλῆος ἄκυσαν.

Mr. Pope's translation brings the image yet nearer to this of Milton,

Thus while he rouz'd the fire in e-
v'ry breast,

(1) Aen. iii. 678. (2) Aen. ix. 679. (3) Il. xii. 132. (4) Il. xvi. 215.

From wing to wing, and half incloſe him round
With all his peers: attention held them mute.
Thrice he eſſay'd, and thrice in ſpight of ſcorn,

Cloſe, and more cloſe, the liſtning cohorts preſt;
Ranks wedg'd in ranks: of arms a ſteely ring
Still grows, and ſpreads, and thickens round the king.

MUTE] So Virgil deſcribes the Carthaginians liſt'ning to Aeneas (1),

" Conticuere omnes, intentique ora
" tenebant.

Calpurnius has a ſimilar expreſſion (2),

" Stabam defixus, et ore patenti
" Cunctaque mirabar——

Homer in the ſame manner (3),

——οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ·
Κηληθμῷ δ' ἔσχοντο καὶὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα.

Apollonius has a little embelliſhed the deſcription (4),

Τοί δ' ἄμοτον λῆξάντος ἔτι πρῦσχοντο καρήνα
Πάντες ὅμως ὄρθοισιν ἔπ' ὠσὶν ἠρεμοόντες
Κηληθμῷ——

THRICE HE ESSAY'D] Milton has repreſented Satan, not yet as a monſter of wickedneſs, but as having ſtill the ſhade of ſome moral virtues left. Had he done otherwiſe, it would have been contrary to the character of angel he ſo lately fell from. We find he has not only courage and conduct, but even a compaſſionate concern for thoſe, whoſe miſery he is the occaſion of. We have him here bewailing their misfortune with tears, and in the following book he declares, that no danger can prevent him from attempting any thing for the good of his ſubjects (5),

But I ſhould ill become this throne, ô peers,
And this imperial ſov'reignty adorn'd
With ſplendor, arm'd with power, if ought propos'd
And judg'd of public moment, in the ſhape
Of difficulty, or danger could deter
Me from attempting——

In the ſame manner, tho' Homer has drawn Achilles inexorable and cruel, yet we find him poſſeſſed of the virtues of valour, friendſhip, and a contempt of death. In Virgil, even Mezentius himſelf, tho' a cruel and atheiſtical tyrant, when he reſolves not to ſurvive his beloved Lauſus, raiſes ſome kind of pity in the breaſt of the reader (6),

" ——aeſtuat ingens

(1) Aen. ii. 1. (2) Eclog. vii. (3) Od. xi. 332. (4) Argon. l. i. (5) B. ii. 445. (6) Aen. x. 870.

Tears ſuch as angels weep, burſt forth; at laſt
Words interwove with ſighs found out their way.
O myriads of immortal ſpirits, O powers
Matchleſs, but with th' Almighty, and that ſtrife
Was not inglorious, though th' event was dire,
As this place teſtifies, and this dire change
Hateful to utter: but what power of mind,
Foreſeeing or preſaging, from the depth
Of knowledge paſt or preſent, could have fear'd,
How ſuch united force of gods, how ſuch

" Imo in corde pudor, miſtoque in-
" ſania luctu
" Et furiis agitatus amor, et conſcia
" virtus.

WORDS INTERWOVE WITH SIGHS] Ovid deſcribes Halcyone in the ſame manner (1),

" Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora
" rigavit.

Dr. Upton in his notes upon Shakeſpear, obſerves, that Sir Philip Sidney in his Arcadia has ſwelled this thought to bombaſt, 'But the breath 'almoſt formed into words, was a-'gain ſtopped by her, and turned in-'to ſighs.'

V. 622. SATAN'S SPEECH] This ſpeech of Satan's is in all reſpects the moſt proper he could make to his adherents, in their preſent circumſtances. He begins by lamenting their miſery, and tries to perſuade them, that in all probability it would be of no long continuance. He lays the blame of their defeat, not upon their want of ſtrength or courage, but upon their ignorance of the ſtrength of their opponent: an ignorance, which (ſays he) no knowledge by them attainable could ever remove. He takes them all to witneſs that his conduct is unblameable, either with reſpect to courage or conduct as a leader, and concludes by propoſing an expedition againſt the foe, as peace, even after their defeat, was not to be thought of.

(1) Met. xi. 419.

As ſtood like theſe, could ever know repulſe?
For who can yet believe, though after loſs,
That all theſe puiſſant legions, whoſe exile
Hath emptied heav'n, ſhall fail to reaſcend
Self-rais'd, and repoſſeſs their native ſeat?
For me be witneſs all the hoſt of heav'n,
If counſels different, or danger ſhun'd
By me, have loſt our hopes. But he who reigns
Monarch in heav'n, till then as one ſecure
Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
Conſent or cuſtome; and his regal ſtate

EMPTIED HEAV'N] Milton tells us that the third part of the angels were engaged in Satan's rebellion (1),

——with lies
Drew after him the third part of heav'n's hoſt.

There have been many of the ſame opinion, which they found on the words of St. John (2), where it is ſaid that 'the dragon's tail drew the third 'part of the ſtars of heaven, and did 'caſt them to the earth,' which words they ſuppoſe to allude to the fall of the angels. This is enough for a poet on which to found his ſuppoſition, and we have many inſtances of their advancing things on much ſlighter grounds.

COUNCILS DIFFERENT] This does not ſignify that he had differed in judgment from his aſſociates, but our poet here makes uſe of a Latiniſm to denote private views, or ſeparate ſchemes for his own behoof, without regard to the good of the whole. Caeſar has an expreſſion ſimilar to this (3), "Se exercitum, duceſque non "deſerturos, neque ſibi ſeparatim a "reliquis concilium capturos." And again (4), "Se ſibi concilium captu-"rum, neque ſenatus auctoritati ob-"temperaturum."

(1) B. v. 710. (2) Rev. xii. 4. (3) Bel. Civ. l. i. c. 76. (4) Ibid. c. i.

Put forth at full, but ſtill his ſtrength conceal'd,
Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.

TEMPTED OUR ATTEMPT] This is the firſt jingle that occurs in the poem; perhaps without intention, tho' many readers may be apt to think otherwiſe, as ſeveral occur afterwards which are not to be excus'd. In all crimes againſt religion or morality, the beſt vindication of the accuſed is, to prove that they acted conformably to their judgment, however erroneous; but in matters of art and criticiſm it's quite otherwiſe, and the beſt apology for the faults of an author is, that they were contrary to his better judgment, and committed in compliance with the ill taſte of the age in which he wrote. How much jingling and punning was the mode in Milton's days, is well known. And the definition of RHYME prefixed to his poem, furniſhes us with ſome ſort of argument, that Milton beheld theſe in their true light. The GINGLING SOUND OF LIKE ENDINGS, which he there declares againſt, agrees to theſe alliterations, and aſſyllabations (if we may uſe the word) almoſt as well as it does to rhyme; the two indeed are nearly allied. As for example, that in the verſe before us, and in the fifth book (1),

Beſeeching or beſieging——

We may divide ſuch faults in this poem into two ſorts; the firſt, (to which belong the above examples) conſiſts in a ſimilitude of the ſounds of the words: Of this ſort is RHIME, with this aggravation, that it includes a jingle in every two lines. The ſecond, which is yet leſs excuſable, conſiſts in a double meaning of the ſame word, which is only a greater ſimilitude, or SAMENESS of ſound. Of this laſt there are ſeveral remarkable inſtances in the ſpeeches of Satan and Belial in the ſixth book,

O friends, why come not on theſe
victors proud? &c.

All therefore, that we pretend to ſay in behalf of Milton's conduct in this particular is, that he conformed himſelf upon ſuch occaſions, rather to the bad taſte of the age he lived in, than to the dictates of his own taſte and judgment.

Dr. Upton in his curious obſervations upon Shakeſpear, thinks the riſe of the prepoſterous embelliſhment of ALLITERATION in poetry (with which the writers in Queen Elizabeth's days were ſo miſerably overrun) was owing to the LEONINE verſes, which, before the revival of learning, were much admired. In theſe

(1) V. 869.

Henceforth his might we know, and know our own
So as not either to provoke, or dread
New war, provok't; our better part remains
To work in cloſe deſign, by fraud or guile,
What force effected not: that he no leſs
At length from us may find, who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe.
Space may produce new worlds; whereof ſo rife
There went a fame in heav'n that he ere long

a conſtant ſeries of the ſame letters, was carried on through the whole piece. It was probably in ridicule of this fooliſh cuſtom, that Shakeſpear wrote the following verſes, in his Midſummer's night's Dream,

Whereat with blade, with bloody blameful blade,
He bravely broach'd his boiling bloody breaſt.

And theſe in Love's Labour loſt (1),

The praiſeful princeſs pierc'd and prickt
A pretty pleaſing pricket——

One of the moſt famous Latin poems in this ſtyle, is the Pugna Porcorum, conſiſting of about 350 verſes, every word of which begins with a P.

"Plaudite porcelli, porcorum pi-
"gra propago.

The works of the ancient Leipogrammatiſts, were they yet extant, would furniſh us with more examples of theſe ſorts of deſpicable conceits in writing.

THERE WENT A FAME] It is prettily obſerved by Mr. Addiſon, in the Spectators, 'That nothing could 'ſhow more the dignity of the ſpe-'cies, than this tradition which the 'poet ſays ran of them in heaven be-'fore their exiſtence. They are here 'repreſented to have been the talk of 'heaven before they were created; 'Virgil in compliment to the Roman 'commonwealth, makes the heroes 'of it appear in their ſtate of pre-ex-'iſtence (2); but Milton does a far 'greater honour to mankind in gene-

(1) Act iv. ſc. 2. (2) Aen. vi. 756.

Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard
Should favour equal to the ſons of heaven:
Thither, if but to pry, ſhall be perhaps
Our firſt eruption, thither or elſewhere:
For this infernal pit ſhall never hold
Celeſtial ſpirits in bondage, nor th' abyſs
Long under darkneſs cover. But theſe thoughts
Full counſel muſt mature: peace is deſpair'd,
For who can think ſubmiſſion? war then, war
Open or underſtood muſt be reſolv'd.
He ſpake: and to confirm his words, out-flew

'ral, as he gives us a glimpſe of them 'even before they are in being.' Thus far this elegant writer. It ſeems not improbable that Milton took this hint from the Jewiſh traditions, which ſay, that God conſulted the angels about the creation of man; but that they having ſpoken of man with ſome contempt, God made anſwer, that man was wiſer than they, as he was able to name all the different animals, which was what they could not do. Mohamed borrowed this ſtory from the Jews, and has inſerted it with ſome ſmall alterations in his Koran (1), where the reader will find a fuller account of it, in the learned notes which Mr. Sale has added to his tranſlation of that book. It is an opinion which has been pretty much entertained by ſome of the ancient Chriſtians, as Irenaeus, Lactantius, &c. that the angels being informed of God's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify human nature, by Chriſt's aſſuming it, ſome of them thinking their glory hereby eclipſed, envied man's happineſs, and ſo revolted.

(1) Cap. ii.

Millions of flaming ſwords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty cherubim; the ſudden blaze
Far round illumin'd hell: highly they rag'd
Againſt the higheſt, and fierce with graſped arms
Claſh'd on their ſounding ſhields the din of war, 668

THIGH] According to Homer's expreſſion (1),

—φασγάνον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ.

Thus tranſlated by Virgil (2),

"——ocyùs enſem
"Eripit a femore——

SUDDEN BLAZE] The ſhining of armour has been variouſly deſcribed by different poets. Thus Homer (3),

Αἴγλη δ' οὐρανὸν ἷκε, γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθὼν
Χαλκῷ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς——

With ſplendor flame the skies, and laugh the fields around. POPE.

Lucretius has tranſlated theſe verſes in the following manner (4),

"Fulgur ibi ad coelum ſe tollit; to-
"taque circum
"Aere renideſcit tellus——

Virgil has borrowed the laſt of theſe hemiſtichs (5),

"——late fluctuat omnis
"Aere renidenti tellus——

Theſe images are noble and bold, but A BLAZE which ILLUMIN'D the whole even of HELL itſelf, is ſtill more grand and terrible. As our poet has already repreſented hell as a dark and gloomy region, it may be allowed that this ſhining of arms muſt make a ſtronger glare, than in any of the above deſcriptions, and ſo far Milton's is more apt and proper.

CLASH'D ON THEIR SOUNDING SHIELDS] Perhaps our poet here alludes to the ancient warlike dances and exerciſes which were performed in compleat armour, the claſhing of which, by the motion of the dancer, agreeing with the muſic, formed a ſort of warlike harmony. The Latins called this 'ſaltatio Bellicrepa,' as Feſtus informs us (6), "Bellicrepam "ſaltationem dicebant, quando cum "armis ſaltabant, quod a Romulo in-"ſtitutum eſt." Claudian deſcribes this Roman dance in the following verſes (7),

"Mutatos edunt pariter tunc pec-
"tora metus
"In latus illiſis clypeis, aut rurſus
"in altum

(1) Odyſſ λ. (2) Aen. x. 86. (3) Il. xix. 362. (4) L. ii. 327. (5) G. ii. 281. (6) L. ii. p. 49. edit. Delph. (7) In 4 Conſ. Honor.

"Vibratis, GRAVE PARMA SONAT,
" mucronis acutum
" Murmur, et umbonum pulsu mo-
" dulante resultans
" Ferreus alterna concentus claudi-
" tur ense.

Another species of this dance was the Pyrric, the invention of which has been disputed, some attributing it to Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, others to a Cydonian of the same name(1). Plotius the Grammarian (2) gives the following account of its origin, "Pyr-
" richius pes, a Pyrrhica lusus gene-
" re, nomen accepit, quia hoc sono mi-
" lites usi sub armis, per ludum cient
" simulacra pugnae, ipsa tamen Pyr-
" rhica dicta est a Pyrrho Cydoneo,
" quia primus Cretenses, sub armis
" saltare ad hujus pedis sonum insti-
" tuit. Alii a Pyrrho, Achillis filio,
" quem primum in tumulo patris sui
" honoris gratia armatum saltavisse
" dicunt. Aristoteles autem ait Achil-
" lem hujus lusus inventorem fuisse."

It would seem probable, that the armed dance is much elder than the Trojan war, for according to Callimachus, the Curetes, who were the inhabitants of Crete, first practised this dance after the birth of Jupiter (3),

Οὗλα δὲ Κύρητές γε περὶ πρύλιν ὠρχήσαντο
Τεύχεα περιλήγοντες, ἵνα Κρόνος ὔασιν ἠχὴν
Ἀσπίδος εἰσαΐοι—
" Circum se Curetes armatum luse-
" runt tripudium
" Arma concutientes: ut Saturnus
" auribus sonitum
" Clypei audiret——

The mistake of ascribing this invention to Pyrrhus the son of Achilles seems to have had its rise from the similarity of his name to that of one of the Curetes, who, as Pausanias informs us, l. iii. p. 211. was called Pyrrichus, and most probably the Pyrric dance had its name from him, as Spanh. ad Callim. p. 22. rightly conjectures. Hence Hesychius explains Πρύλιν, by the word Πυρρίχην. Besides, we find many of the ancients ascribing this dance peculiarly to the Cretans. So Sophocles, Ajax ver. 713. calls it Κνωσσια ὀρχηματα, and his schol. ibid. Κρητίκη. Athenaeus lib. xiv. p. 680. calls the Cretans Ορχησαι, and mentions this Pyrric dance as commonly practised by the boys in that island in armour, Ην ἐνοπλιοι παιδὲς ὀρχοῦνται· so Dio Prus. orat iii. Τὴν ἐνοπλίον τὴν Κύρητικην, ἥπερ ἦν ἐπιχώριος τοῖς Κρήσι. "Cure-
" tum saltationem armatam, quae
" Cretensibus peculiaris est." Orph. hymn. in Curet.

Σκιρτήται Κῦρητες, ἐνοπλια βήματα θέντες.
" Salientes Curetes, vestigia pre-
" mentes armata.

From the Cretans other nations borrowed it. Thus Callim. hym. in Dian.

(1) Vide Plin. lib. vii. c. 56. (2) Apud Cujac. observat. lib. xxiii. c. 10.
(3) Hymn. in Jov. 52.

ver. 240. repreſents the Amazons dancing in this manner round the ſtatue of Diana which they had ſet up,

Αὗται δὲ, ὅτι ἄνασσα περὶ πρυλὶν ὠρχήσαντο,
Πρώτα μὲν ἓν σακεῖσσιν ἐνοπλιον—

Now every one knows that the Amazons were two generations before Neoptolemus the ſon of Achilles. Ariſtoph. Nub. ver. 985. ſays this dance was uſed at Athens in the feſtival Panathaenea,

—ὅταν ὄρχεισθαι Παναθήναιοις δεῖν αὗτυς
Τὴν ἀσπίδα τῆς κωλῆς προέχων—

where the ſcholiaſt, Ὠρχοῦντο γὰρ ἔν ὅπλοις ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις οἱ παιδές. Plato too mentions this, de Leg. lib. vii. p. 769. edit. Steph. It was uſed too by the Barbarians. Thus Xenophon Anaβaσ. lib. vi. pag. 370. edit. Leunclav. Καὶ πρὸς αὖλον ὠρχήσαντο σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. "Armati ad tibiam ſaltabant." In the next page he ſays the ſame of the Arcadians, Εξωπλισμένοι ὡς ἐδυνάντο καλλίστα, &c.

From the particular meaſure obſerved in this dance, it was called Βεταρμος. So Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. ver. 1135.

Σκαίροντες, βητάρμον ἔνοπλιον ὠρχήσαντο.

"Subſilientes betarmum in armis ſal-
" tabant.

Schol. Βητάρμον δὲ τὴν ὄρχησιν, παρὰ τὴν ἅρμοδιον βασίν αὐτῶν. λέγει δὲ νῦν τὴν Πύρριχην. It ſeems to have conſiſted partly in the noiſe made by their arms, which was accompanied with different motions of the body, as if avoiding the ſtrokes of an enemy, or ſtriking at them; this is the idea that Plato gives us of it, de Leg. lib. vii. p. 815. Τὴν πολέμικην δὲ τύτων, ἄλλην ὔσαν τῆς εἰρηνίκης, Πυῤῥίχην ἄν τις ὀρθῶς προσαγόρευοι, &c. "Bel-
" licam verò illam ſaltationem, huic
" pacificae contrariam, Pyrricham
" rectè quis appellaverit, quae imi-
" tatur corporum flexus, quibus tela,
" plagaeque evitantur, declinando,
" caedendo, in altum exſiliendo, hu-
" mi ſe demittendo. Contrarios item
" geſtus, quibus adverſus alios aliquid
" infertur, ſagittando, jaculando, ic-
" tus deferendo, et caeteros hujuſmo-
" di motus recte effingendo." Lucian alludes to this, when he deſcribes Minerva ſpringing from Jupiter's head, (Dialog. Jov. et Vulcan.) Πυῤῥιχίζει, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τινάσσει. "Pyrrhichi-
" um ſaltat, et clypeum quatit." Milton here alludes to the manner of making a noiſe in this dance by claſhing the ſword againſt the ſhield; ſo Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. ver. 1136.

Καὶ σάκεα ξιφιεῖσσιν ἐπεκλύπτον—

" Clypeis gladios allidebant——

And Callim. hym. in Del. ver. 134. deſcribing Mars,

Τψόθε δ' ἐσμαράγησε, καὶ ἀσπίδα τύψεν ἀκωκῇ
Δύραλος. ἡ δ' ἐλελίξεν ἐνόπλιον——

" Deſuper increpuit, et cuſpide ſcu-
" tum percuſſit
" Lanceae. idque ſtrepitum edidit
" armiſonum.

This method of ſtriking the ſpear or ſword againſt the ſhield, we find uſed

Hurling defiance toward the vault of heav'n.

by the ſoldiers anciently as a ſignal of approbation, or diſpleaſure. Thus Ammian Marcell. lib. xv. c. 8. "Militares omnes horrendo fragore ſcuto genibus illidentes, quod eſt proſperitatis indicium plenum. Nam contra, cum haſtis clypei feriuntur, irae documentum eſt, et doloris." They took the ſame way to declare their approbation, when Julian was declared emperor, as this hiſtorian informs us, lib. xx. c. 5. "Hac fiducia ſpei majoris animatus inferior miles —— haſtis feriendo clypeos, ſonitu aſſurgens ingenti, uno propemodum ore, dictis favebat et factis."

I have only further to obſerve, that it appears evident, that the dances of the Salii, who were the prieſts of Mars among the Romans, were formed from the ancient Pyrric dance of the Cretans, as well as theſe which were ſometimes performed in the Campus Martius at Rome, which are thus deſcribed by Claudian, 6 Conſ. Hon. ver. 624.

"et pulchras errorum artes, jucundaque Martis
"Cernimus, inſonuit cum verbere ſigna magiſter:
"Mutatos edunt pariter tot pectora ſonus
"In latus alliſis clypeis, aut rurſus in altum
"Vibratis. Grave parma ſonat, mucronis acutum
"Murmur, et umbonum pulſu modulante reſultans,
"Ferreus alterno concentus claudi-tur enſe.

While this dance was performing, the hymn to Caſtor, Κασόρειον μέλος, was generally played or ſung: Pindar alludes to this, Pyth. ii. p. 211. edit. P. Steph.

Τὸ δὲ Κασόρειον
Δ' ἔν Αἰόλιδεσσι χόρδαις
Θέλων——

becauſe (as the ſcholiaſt remarks) the invention of the armed dance was by ſome aſcribed to the Dioſcuri, Κασόρειον εἶπε διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐνόπλον ὀρχήσιν κατ' ἔνιους τοὺς Διόσκουρους εὑρεῖν.

V. 668. Din of war] An old word from the Saxon dyn, ſignifying NOISE.

Vault] So Spencer in Mother Hubbard's tale,

What ſo the Heaven in his wide VAULT contains.

Our poet again uſes the word VAULT by a ſimilar figure (1),

Now had night meaſur'd, with her ſhadowy cone

(1) B. iv. 777.

There ſtood a hill not far, whoſe griſly top
Belch'd fire and rowling ſmoak; the reſt entire
Shone with a gloſſy ſcurf, undoubted ſign
That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
The work of ſulphur. Thither wing'd with ſpeed
A numerous brigad haſten'd. As when bands
Of pioneers with ſpade and pickax arm'd
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
Or caſt a rampart. Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the leaſt erected ſpirit that fell

Half way up hill this vaſt SUBLUNAR VAULT.

The ſame image is beautifully uſed by Buchanan, pſalm xix. 2.

" Qui templa Olympi FORNICE flammeo
" Suſpendit——

GRISLY TOP] Milton uſes this epithet in the ſame ſenſe in another place, where he calls Satan the griſly king (2),

——ſo ſudden to behold the griſly king.

TRENCH A FIELD] Shakeſpear has made uſe of this expreſſion in his comedy of the two Gentlemen of Verona (2),

This weak impreſs of love, is as a figure
Trenched in ice——

MAMMON] This name is properly Syriac, and ſignifies Riches, tho' we find it in the Greek text of the New Teſtament (3). Tertullian has aſſerted (4), that Mammon ſignified the God of Riches, but there is no proof of this opinion, as Calmet obſerves. Auguſtin informs us, that in the Punic or African tongue, Mammon ſignifies GAIN (5). " Mammo-
" na apud Hebraeos (ſays that fa-
" ther) divitiae appellari dicuntur.
" Congruit et Punicum nomen, nam
" Lucrum Punicè Mammon dicitur."

(1) B. iv. 821. (2) Act iii. (3) Luke xvi. 13. (4) L. iv. cont. Mar. (5) Aug. de ſerm. Dom. in monte l. ii. c. 14. N. 47.

From heav'n, for ev'n in heav'n his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of heav'n's pavement, trodd'n gold,
Than aught divine or holy elſe enjoy'd
In viſion beatific: by him firſt
Men alſo, and by his ſuggeſtion taught,
Ranſack'd the center, and with impious hands

Milton has here perſonized Mammon, and made him a ſort of Plutus, or Deity preſiding over riches, as our Saviour ſeems to have done in the goſpel.

TRODD'N GOLD] Probably Milton took this idea of the pavement of heaven, from the deſcription St. John gives of the New Jeruſalem in his Revelations (1), where he ſays that 'The 'ſtreets of that city were of pure gold.' We find the ancient Pagan poets deſcribing heaven in the ſame manner. Thus Homer (2),

Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρὰ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἠγορόωντο
Χρύσεῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ——

RANSACK'D THE CENTER] This is a beautiful digreſſion of the poet, complaining of the abuſe of riches, and tho' ſuch interruptions are not always agreeable to the ſtricteſt rules of epic poetry, yet a digreſſion ſo ſhort, and apt as this is, needs no excuſe. Ovid ſays that it was in the Iron Age men began to ranſack the bowels of the earth for gold and ſilver (3),

" Nec tantum ſegetes, alimentaque
" mitia dives
" Poſcebatur humus, ſed itum eſt in
" viſcera terrae,
" Quaſque recondiderat, Stigiiſque
" admoverat umbris,
" Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta ma-
" lorum.

It muſt be allowed that Milton's verſes appear more ſtrong and animated than thoſe of the Latin poet, not only by his throwing in theſe words, 'Impious hands — Mother earth — 'Treaſures better hid,' — but in his feigning this to be done by the invention and ſuggeſtion of a daemon, enemy to mankind. Seneca has expreſſed himſelf upon this ſubject, with the affectation that runs through moſt

(1) C. xxi. 21. (2) Il. iv. 1. (3) Met. i. 337.

Rifl'd the bowels of their mother earth
For treaſures better hid. Soon had his crew
Open'd into the hill a ſpacious wound
And dig'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire
That riches grow in hell; that ſoyle may beſt
Deſerve the precious bane. And here let thoſe

of his writings (1), "Video ferrum "ex iiſdem tenebris prolatum, qui- "bus argentum et aurum, ne aut in- "ſtrumentum in caedes mutuas de- "eſſet, aut pretium." And again(2), "Aurum et argentum,et propter iſta, "nunquam pacem agens ferrum quaſi "malè nobis committerentur, natu- "ra abſcondit." This has a near affinity with the 'Treaſures BETTER 'HID' of our poet, who has taken it directly from the "Aurum irreper- "tum et ſic melius ſitum" of Horace, lib. iii. ode 3. l. 49. Pliny has a complaint of the ſame kind (3), "Seu "vero non hoc etiam exemplum in- "dignationis ſacrae parentis expri- "mi poſſit, imus in viſcera ejus, et "in ſede manium opes quaerimus, "tanquam parum benigna fertilique "quaquaverſum calcatur." Lucan has an apoſtrophe upon the ſame ſubject (4),

"Uſque adeo ſolus ferrum,mortem- "que timore
"Auri neſcit amor. Pereunt diſçri- "mine nullo
"Amiſſae leges. Sed pars viliſſima "rerum
"Certamen moviſtis opes——

From theſe Spencer has formed the following verſes, in his Fairy Queen (5),

Then 'gan accurſed hand the quiet womb
Of his great-grand-mother with ſteel to wound,
And the hid treaſures in her ſacred tomb
With ſacriledge to dig——

It may be obſerved that Lord Shaftesbury has had theſe two lines in view, in the end of the beautiful exclamation againſt luxury, in the Rhapſody, pag. 376.

RICHES GROW IN HELL] In the ſame manner Spencer, in his allegorical ſtyle, places the houſe of Riches, cloſe by the gate of Hell (6),

At laſt him to a little door he brought,

(1) De Benef. l. vii. c. 10. (2) Epiſt. xciv. (3) Prooem. in lib. xxxiii. (4) L. iii. 118. (5) B. ii. c. 2. ſt. 17. (6) Ubi ſupra. ſt. 24.

Who boaſt in mortal things, and wondring tell
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,

That to the gate of Hell, which gaped wide,
Was next adjoining, ne them parted ought;
Betwixt them both was but a little ſtride,
That did the houſe of Riches from Hell-mouth divide.

Babel] Our poet means here that famous tower built by the deſcendants of Noah, not long after the flood, (about one hundred years) which by all the accounts we have of it, muſt have been a moſt ſtupendous ſtructure. Joſephus, who makes Nimrod the principal author of the attempt to build this tower, ſays he deſigned to raiſe it ſo high, as to ſecure him from a new deluge, and put him in a condition to revenge the death of his anceſtors, Μετελευσέσθαι δὲ χ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀπολείας (1), but it is ſcarce credible that he could ever entertain ſo fooliſh an imagination, eſpecially as the account given by Moſes inſinuates nothing of this kind. It has been thought that the tower of Belus, mentioned by Herodotus (2), was the tower of Babel, or at leaſt, that this temple was built upon the old foundation. Modern travellers vary much in the accounts they give us of the remains of this ſtructure. Benjamin of Tudela, who flouriſhed in the 13th century, informs us, that the foundations were 2000 paces in length (3). Fabricius makes it about a mile in circumference. Le Gour, who ſtayed long at Bagdat, is more circumſtantial. He ſays, that about three leagues from this city, there is a tower called Megara (4), ſituated between the Tygris and Euphrates, in an open field: this ſtructure is all ſolid within, and looks more like a mountain, than a tower. Its compaſs is about 500 paces, and tho' it is much ruined by the rains, it is ſtill about 138 feet high. It is built of bricks, and interlaid with courſes of ſtraw mixed with pitch or bitumen. However it is highly probable this is not the remains of the ancient tower of Babel, any more than the other towers that are ſtill ſtanding in Babylonia, which rather appear to be ruins of Old Babylon, built by Nebuchadnezzar.

Memphian kings] Our poet here hints at the Pyramids of Egypt, built by the kings of Memphis, which was a vaſt city ſtanding on the Weſtern ſhoar of the Nile, and anciently

(1) Ant. l. i. c. 5. (2) L. i. c. 181. (3) In Itiner. (4) Calmet. dict. voce Babel.

Learn how their greateſt monuments of fame,
And ſtrength and art are eaſily out-done
By ſpirits reprobate, and in an hour
What in an age they with inceſſant toil

the capital of Lower Egypt. Diodorus Siculus (1) informs us, that it was 150 ſtadia, or 18 miles round, Τὸν μὲν οὖν περίβολον τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησε σταδίων ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. About ſix miles from Memphis ſtand the Pyramids, the largeſt of which, built by Cheops king of Egypt, (as Herodotus (2) ſays) contains within its area ſomewhat more than eleven Engliſh acres, according to Greave's menſuration. The ſame author makes the perpendicular height 499 feet. Pliny (3) tells us that 360,000 men were employed in building the great pyramid for 20 years together, which moſt probably ſerved for the ſepulchre of the prince, as well as the leſſer pyramids which ſtand near it, and which were erected by ſucceeding kings for the ſame purpoſe. This appears certain from the accounts of modern travellers, who aſſure us, that in one of the chambers of the great pyramid, there is ſtill to be ſeen a tomb cut out of one entire ſtone. The learned Dr. Pocock has given us a particular account of theſe wonderful ſtructures (4), and an abſtract of Mallet's account of the great pyramid at the end of that volume, to which we refer the reader. The other works of the kings of Memphis, were no leſs worthy of admiration: ſuch was the mound caſt up to the Southward of the city, to defend it from the encroachments of the river, and the vaſt lake dug to receive its inundation. Theſe are mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (5) as inſtances of the power and wealth of the Egyptian princes. Milton has here ſingled them out with the ſame view as Martial, tho' with greater juſtice, as the ſtructure he is here deſcribing muſt be ſuppoſed vaſtly ſuperior to any of theſe mentioned by the Latin poet (6),

" Barbara Pyramidum ſileat mira-
" cula Memphis,
" Aſſiduus jactet nec Babylona la-
" bor.

And in another epigram (7),

" Regia Pyramidum, Caeſar, mira-
" cula ride,
" Jam tacet Eoum barbara Memphis opus.

(1) L. i. p. 32. edit. Rhod. (2) L. ii. (3) L. xxxvi. c. 12. (4) B. i. c. 5. (5) Ubi ſupra. (6) L. i. ep. i. (7) L. viii. ep. 36.

And hands innumerable ſcarce perform.
Nigh on the plain in many cells prepar'd,
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sluc'd from the lake, a ſecond multitude
With wondrous art founded the maſſie ore,
Severing each kind, and ſcumm'd the bullion droſs:
A third as ſoon had form'd within the ground
A various mould, and from the boiling cells
By ſtrange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,
As in an organ from one blaſt of wind

Founded] Thus it ſhould be read; we ſee it thus in the firſt edition of the poem, but in all the ſubſequent, till Bentley's, it is read found out, which one would think a miſtake impoſſible to be committed by any who had read the context.

Scumm'd the bullion] It would appear that Milton in this account of the building of Pandemonium, had in his eye that paſſage of Spencer's Fairy Queen, where he tells us how the fiends in Mammon's ſervice were employed; tho' our poet has omitted ſeveral puerilities his original has fallen into (1),

One with great bellows gather'd filling air,
And with forc'd wind the fuel did enflame;
Another did the dying brondes repair
With iron tongs, and ſprinkled oft the ſame
With liquid waves fierce Vulcan's rage to tame,
Who maſt'ring them, renew'd his former heat;
Some ſcumm'd the droſs that from the metal came,
Some ſtir'd the molten ore with ladles great,
And every one did ſwink, and every one did ſweat.

Our poet has not only amended ſeveral images in this deſcription, with

(1) B. ii. c. 7. ſt. 36.

To many a row of pipes the ſound-board breaths.
Anon out of the earth a fabric huge
Roſe like an exhalation, with the ſound
Of dulcet ſymphonies and voices ſweet,
Built like a temple, where pylaſters round
Were ſet, and Doric pillars overlaid
With golden architrave; nor did there want

his uſual judgment, but has embelliſhed it greatly by the addition of that apt and beautiful ſimile taken from an organ.

DULCET] Sweet, from the Latin DULCE. We read the ſame word uſed by Shakeſpear, in his Taming of the Shrew (1),

To make a DULCET, and a heavenly ſound.

We find theſe loſt ſpirits celebrating the building of the Pandemonium with muſic and ſymphonies; as afterwards the poet deſcribes them ſinging their own exploits in battle, and lamenting their fall, in the following beautiful lines, which are in a particular manner expreſſive of the ſubject,

——others more mild,
Retreated in a ſilent valley, ſing
With notes angelical to many a harp
Their own heroic deeds, and hapleſs fall
By doom of battle——

DORIC PILLARS] Our poet here has pitched upon the Doric pillar as the ſupport of this infernal ſtructure, probably becauſe it is the moſt ancient order of all, and the plaineſt and moſt ſimple. Thus Vitruvius, when ſpeaking of the three orders of columns, "E columnarum enim formationi-" bus, trium generum factae ſunt no-" minationes, Dorica, Ionica, Co-" rinthia, e quibus prima et antiqui-" tùs Dorica eſt nata (2)." He goes on to inform us, that this order owed its invention to Dorus the ſon of Helen, who built a temple at Argos to Juno, whoſe columns happened to be of the order ſince called Doric.

ARCHITRAVE] This is a term of architecture, ſignifying that piece of wood which is placed upon the top of the column, to ſuſtain the large beams which ſupport the roof of the building. Perrault, in his notes upon

(1) Act. i. (2) L. iv. c. 1.

Cornice or freeze, with boſſy ſculptures grav'n,
The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon

Vitruvius (1), obſerves, that this is a barbarous term, compoſed partly of Greek and partly of Latin, and therefore proper to no one language. Vitruvius and the other ancient architects, always uſe the Greek word EPISTYLIUM inſtead of it.

CORNICE OR FREEZE] Architects call a CORNICE that creſt which is placed at the upper end of a pillar, which differs according to the different orders. FREEZE is that part of the entablature of columns, between the architrave and corniche. The freeze is often enriched with different ornaments, as our poet hints in this place.

BOSSY SCULPTURES] BOSSY ſignifies properly any thing that appears prominent, as figures in Relievo do, and in this ſenſe our poet here uſes it.

FRETTED GOLD] FRET-WORK is when barrs are interlaced lozenge-wiſe. In heraldry, a lozenge and a ſaltire, or St. Andrew's croſs interlaced, is called a fret. Milton has uſed this term, as ſeveral of our poets have done before him. So Spencer in his Fairy Queen (2),

And round about YFRETTED all
with gold.

And Shakeſpear in the tragedy of Cymbeline (3),

The roof o' th' chamber
With golden cherubims is FRETTED.

BABYLON] Our poet here means the city of Babylon, in the ſtate it was after Semiramis and Nebuchadnezzar had employed the utmoſt efforts of their power and wealth, in adorning and fortifying it. It was ſo very large, that Ariſtotle aſſerts (4) when it was taken, ſome of the inhabitants did not know it till three days after, Ης γέφασιν ἑαλωκυίας τριτὴν ἡμέραν ὗκ αἰσθέσθαι τὶ μερὸς τῆς πολιῶς. (5) None of the ancient writers, who have mentioned this famous city, make the circuit of its walls leſs than 360 ſtadia, which make 45 miles. This is the account that Cteſias and Clitarchus, who lived at Babylon, give of it (6). Pliny ſays that the circuit of the walls was 60 miles (7), which agrees perfectly with Herodotus' meaſures, which make it 480 ſtadia (8). The height of theſe walls has been differently related; Strabo and Diodorus Siculus call it 50 cu-

(1) L. i. c. 1. (2) B. iii. c. 2. ſt. 25. (3) Act ii. (4) Polit. l. iii. c. 3. (5) Herod. l. i. c. 191. Xenoph. Cyrop. l. vii. (6) Ap. Diod. Sicul. l. ii. (7) L. vi. c. 26. (8) L. i. c. 179.

Nor great Alcairo ſuch magnificence
Equal'd in all their glories, to enſhrine
Belus or Serapis their gods, or ſeat

bits, Curtius 100. But Cteſias (1) and Herodotus have exceeded all belief or probability, when they ſay theſe walls were 200 cubits high, and the latter adds, that theſe were royal cubits, which were three inches longer than the common cubit. Pliny ſeems to be nearer the truth, who makes the height only 200 feet, inſtead of as many cubits. The thickneſs has been equally exaggerated, but Strabo ſeems to be within bounds, when he calls it 32 feet; he adds, that two chariots could eaſily paſs each other upon the top of the wall, Ἡ δὲ παρόδος ἐπὶ τῦ τείχους, ὥς τεθρίππα ἐναντιοδρομεῖν ἀλλήλοις ῥᾳδίως, in which Curtius agrees with him, "Quadrigae inter ſe concurrentes ſi-"ne periculo commeare dicuntur." Upon the whole, tho' theſe accounts may ſtretch beyond the truth, yet it is certain the walls of Babylon were a moſt ſtupendous ſtructure, and far exceeding any thing of the ſame kind ſince ſeen in the world. We might too mention thoſe prodigious gardens, raiſed upon arches, which Beroſus and Abydenus aſcribe to Nebuchadnezzar (2), and the great tower of Belus, which ſtood in the middle of the city. Accordingly we every where find the ſacred authors ſpeaking of it, as one of the greateſt, and moſt powerful cities in the world, even while they are threatning it with that terrible deſolation which afterwards fell upon it, to ſuch a degree, that now we are at a loſs to find even the ruins of this wonder of the world.

ALCAIRO] The capital of Egypt, ſituated upon the Eaſtern ſhoar of the Nile, not far from the ancient Memphis. (The learned Dr. Pocock, in his obſervations upon Egypt (3), tells us from the Arabian hiſtorians, that this city was founded by a general of the firſt Khalif of the Fathmites, in the year of our Lord 973.) It is probable this city grew out of the ruins of ancient Memphis and Babylon in Egypt.

BELUS] This prince is commonly looked upon as the founder of the Aſſyrian monarchy. After his death he was adored as a god by that nation. Petavius (4) ſuppoſes him to be the ſame with Nimrod, tho' this is contrary to the ſentiment of other

(1) Ap. Diod. Sicul. (2) Joſeph. Ant. l. x. c. 11. Euſeb. Παρ. l. ix. c. ult. (3) B. i. c. iv. (4) Rat. Temp. part i. l. i. c. 2.

chronologers. According to Father Calmet, Belus the Aſſyrian began to reign in Babylon MCCCXXII years before the vulgar aera, in the days of Shamgar judge of Iſrael. As it was common in thoſe early ages to deify princes after their death, Belus met with the ſame honour. Thus Diodorus Siculus ſays, that Belus is the ſame with the Jupiter of the Greeks (1), Ετι δὲ Διὸς (εἰκόνα) ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι Βῆλον, "Et Jovis ſimulacrum quem "Belum nominant Babylonii." The ſame hiſtorian informs us, that in the temple of this God were three ſtatues, all of maſſy gold, of which that of Jupiter, or Belus, was forty feet high, and weighed one thouſand talents. All the inſtruments which were made uſe of in the ſervice of this temple, as cups, bowls, tables, &c. were of beaten gold, and of a prodigious ſize. Herodotus has left us an account of the famous tower (2), upon the top of which this temple was placed, which was built of brick, and of a moſt ſtupendous height. Such was the temple in which, as our poet ſays, the Chaldaeans enſhrined their idols, and therefore proper to be compared to this palace of Satan, tho' vaſtly inferior to it.

SERAPIS] A deity worſhipped by the Egyptians, which has been thought by ſeveral learned men to be the ſame with Apis, or the Ox, which that nation honoured as a God, and built magnificent temples for his lodging and entertainment. Thus Auguſtin in his book de Civitate Dei (3), "His "temporibus rex Argivorum Apis, "navibus tranſvectus in Aegyptum, "cum ibi mortuus fuiſſet factus, eſt Se-"rapis, omnium maximus Aegypti-"orum Deus." And Suidas ſpeaking of this Deity (4), Τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Δῖα ἔφασαν εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον. "Hunc alii "Jovem eſſe dixerunt, alii Nilum." To the ſame purpoſe Ariſtippus, cited by Euſebius (5), Απις τέ ὁ Αργευς βασιλεὺς, &c. "Quinetiam Apis rex Argi-"vorum Memphin condidit, quem— "Serapin nominatum, atque illum "ipſum eſſe teſtatur, quem colunt "Aegyptii." And Macrobius calls Serapis, "Aegyptiorum Deum maxi-"mum," adding, that he was the ſame with the ſun (6). It has been objected, that Serapis is but a late Deity in Egypt. Tacitus relates (7) the hiſtory of his tranſlation from Sinope, a city of Pontus, to Alexandria, by the care of Ptolemy I. king of Egypt; but from what that hiſtorian ſays immediately after, it would appear, that the worſhip of Serapis was known in Egypt before that time, tho' the idol called by this name, was firſt brought into Egypt by Ptolemy; ſo that this argument has not all the weight that

(1) L. ii. p. 69. (2) L. i. c. 181. (3) L. xviii. c. 5. (4) Voce Σιραπις. (5) Παρ. l. x. c. 12. (6) Sat. l. i. c. 20. (7) Hiſt. l. iv. c. 83.

Their kings, when Egypt with Aſſyria ſtrove
In wealth and luxury. Th' aſcending pile
Stood fixt her ſtately highth, and ſtrait the dores
Op'ning their brazen folds diſcover wide
Within her ample ſpaces, o're the ſmooth
And level pavement: from the arched roof,

Calmet attributes to it (1), againſt the hypotheſis here embraced by our poet, viz. that Serapis was an ancient Egyptian Deity. Banier too in his Mythology (2) concludes that Serapis was an Egyptian idol, known long before the age of Ptolemy, as Pauſanias ſays expreſly, that this God had a temple in Memphis, which was very ancient (3), Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος ἐπιφανέστατον μὲν ἐν Αλεξανδρεῦσιν, ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει. "Apud Aegyptios fanum clariſſimum Serapidis Alexandriae cernitur, antiquiſſimum vero Memphi."

Stood fixt her stately highth] This is a Greek conſtruction, which our poet has hazarded in Engliſh. The meaning is, that the building ſtood firm along the whole of its height, or, it ſtood now firm and compleat in all its parts.

Brazen folds] Thus Virgil deſcribes the temple of Juno at Carthage, (4),

"Aerea cui gradibus ſurgebant li-
"mina, nexaeque
"Aere trabes, foribus cardo ſtride-
"bat ahenis.

Servius upon theſe verſes ſuppoſes, that braſs among the ancients was moſtly uſed in ſacred edifices, "Aerea "ideo limina, vel quod aes magis in "uſu veteres habebant, vel quod re-"ligioni magis apta eſt haec mate-"ries." Thus Herodotus tells us (5), that the temple of Belus in Babylon had brazen gates, χαλκόπυλον, and Homer often mentions the χαλκόβατες δῶ.

Arched roof] How much ſuperior are theſe verſes of our poet, to thoſe ſimilar ones in Virgil, from whence he ſeems to have formed them (6)?

"——dependent lychni laquearibus
"aureis

(1) Dict. voce Serapis. (2) B. vi. c. ii. (3) L. i. p. 31. (4) Aen. i. 452. (5) Lib. i. (6) Aen. i. 730.

Pendant by ſubtle magic many a row
Of ſtarry lamps and blazing creſſets, fed
With Naphtha and Aſphaltus, yielded light

" Incenſi, et noctem flammis funa-
" lia vincunt.

Lucretius has elegantly deſcribed the ſtars almoſt in the ſame manner Milton has done the lights in Satan's palace (1),

" Quinetiam nocturna tibi, terreſ-
" tria quae ſunt
" Lumina, pendentes lychni, clarae-
" que coruſcis
" Fulguribus pingues multa caligine
" taedae
" Conſimili properant ratione——

The great multitude of lights has always been looked upon as a circumſtance of ſplendor and magnificence. Thus Plutarch deſcribing an entertainment which Cleopatra gave Antony, has the following words (2), " Antonio maximè admirationi fuit " multitudo luminum, tanta enim un-" dique demittebantur, tanta ferunt " illuxiſſe, tam mira inter ſe arte " diſpoſita, atque ornata, jam qua-" drangulari forma, jam circulari," Ὡσε τῶν εὐλογοις ἀξιοθεατῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔχειν γενίσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, " Ut vel inter rariſſi-" ma pulcherrimarum rerum ſpecta-" cula putaretur."

Subtle magic] One would imagine this expreſſion might have been apply'd to the whole of the building. As uſed here, it ſeems to point out a piece of art in hanging the lamps particularly ſurpriſing and unknown to the beholders.

Cressets] Lanthorns, or beacons.

Naphtha] A ſort of bitumen extremely inflammable. We find it deſcribed by Pliny (3) in the following words, " Naphtha, ita appellatur cir-" ca Babyloniam, et in Auſtagenis Par-" thiae profluens, bituminis liquidi " modo. Huic magna cognatio igni-" um,—tranſiliuntque protinus in e-" am, undecunque viſam." In another place he calls it a ſpecies of bitumen (4), " Sunt qui et Naphthen bitumi-" nis generi adſcribunt." Conſtantinus mentions ſeveral fountains which produced Naphtha (5), Πολλαὶ πήγαι ὑπαρχοῦσιν νάφθαν ἀναδίδυσαι, and Strabo informs us (6), that in the country about Babylon and Suſa are ſeveral fountains of Naphtha, which produce different kinds, ſome of which are liquid, others hard and firm; ſome of a white, others of a black and pitchy

(1) L. v. (2) Ex verſ. in. Anton. (3) L. ii. c. 105. (4) L. xxxv. c. 15. (5) De adm. imp. adde Salmaſ. exercit. Plin. p. 242. (6) L. xvi. p. 743.

As from a ſky. The haſty multitude
Admiring enter'd, and the work ſome praiſe
And ſome the architect: his hand was known
In heav'n by many a towering ſtructure high,

colour, the latter of which is made uſe of in lamps.

Asphaltus] The ſtuff flowing out of the ground in the plains where ancient Babylon ſtood, is called Aſphaltus. This is the mortar which the builders of the Tower of Babel made uſe of for the cement of their bricks, (1) and ſo the Septuagint tranſlate it, Καὶ Ασφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πήλος. Such is the ſtuff thrown out by the lake in Judaea, called commonly the Dead Sea, and which is reckoned by Dioſcorides the beſt in the world, Ασφαλτος διαφέρει ἡ Ιȣδαικη τῆς λοιπής, "Bitumen Judaicum omnium "eſt optimum." Dr. Pocock thinks (2), that this bitumen was a principal ingredient uſed in embalming the bodies in Egypt, eſpecially in filling up the head, and in one ſpecies of what is called mummy. The ſame author informs us that it floats upon the ſurface of the Dead Sea, and comes aſhore after windy weather. The Arabs gather it up, and it ſerves as pitch for all uſes.

His hand was known] Milton has here repreſented Mammon as a Vulcan, who is ſaid by Homer to have been the ſupreme architect in heaven, and to have built the different apartments of the Gods; thus Juno ſays to Jupiter (3),

Εςιν τοι θάλαμος, τόν τοι φίλος υἱος ἔτευξεν
Ηφαιςος, πυκινὰς δὲ θύρας ςαθμοῖσιν ἐπῆρσεν.

With skill divine has Vulcan form'd thy bower,
Sacred to love, and to the genial hour. Pope.

The fragment under Enoch's name, attributes the invention of managing metals to one of the Εγρήγοροι, or Vigiles, whom he calls Azael, or Azalzel, Πρῶτος Αζαὴλ—ἐδίδαξεν ποιεῖν μαχαίρας ϗ θώρακας ϗ πᾶν σκεῦος πολέμικον, ϗ τὰ μέταλλα τῆς γῆς, ϗ τὸ χρυσίον πῶς ἐργάσωνται. However as this is confeſſedly an Apocryphal piece, Milton was at full liberty to change the name of the inventor. (4) Bochart reads inſtead of Azael, Iscael, deriving it from a Hebrew word which ſignifies to melt metals.

(1) Gen. xi. 3. (2) Vol. ii. p. 37. (3) Il. xiv. 338. (4) Fabric. cod. Apocryph. vet. T. vol. i. p. 183.

Where ſcepter'd angels held their reſidence,
And ſat as princes, whom the ſupreme king
Exalted to ſuch power, and gave to rule,
Each in his hierarchie, the orders bright.
Nor was his name unheard or unador'd
In ancient Greece; and in Auſonian land
Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell

SCEPTER'D ANGELS] This ſeems imitated from Homer, who generally gives the Grecian princes the epithet of Σκηπτῦχοι, or Sceptred (1),

Οἳ δ' ἐπανέϛησαν πείθοντό τε ποιμένι λαῶν
Σκηπτῦχοι βασιλῆες——

——the kings without delay
Diſſolve the council, and their chief obey.

The ſceptred rulers lead— POPE.

HIERARCHY] This word ſignifies ſacred principality; according to the writer of the book concerning the celeſtial hierarchy (falſely attributed to Dionyſius Areopagite) the angelic world is divided into three orders. The firſt contains, Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; the next order is made up of Dominations, (Δυνάμεις) Princedoms, (Κυριοτήτες) Powers, (ἐξουσιαι.) Under the third, and loweſt order are ranged, Principalities, (ἄρχαι) Archangels, (Αρχαγγέλοι) and Angels. It would ſeem evident, that Milton had ſome view to this arrangement, in his diſtinction of the orders of angels through all his work.—(Dionyſ. Areop. Περὶ ὑραν. ἱεραρχ. cap. vi. et vii.) From this book (which is ſuppoſed to have been wrote in the fifth or ſixth century) the later Chriſtians have formed their notions of the ſeveral orders and diſtinctions of angels.

MULCIBER] Milton here relates this ſtory of Vulcan after Homer, and almoſt in that poet's words (2),

Ηδη γάρ με καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἀλεξέμεναι μεμαῶτα,
Ῥῖψε ποδὸς τέλαγών, ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο.
Πᾶν δ' ἦμαρ φερόμην, ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι
Κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ——

Once in your cauſe I felt his matchleſs might,
Hurl'd head-long downward from th' etherial height;
Toſs'd all the day in rapid circles round,

(1) Il. ii. 85. (2) Il. i. 590.

From heav'n, they fabl'd, thrown by angry Jove
Sheer o're the chyſtal battlements; from morn
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
A ſummer's day; and with the ſetting ſun
Dropt from the Zenith like a falling ſtar,
On Lemnos th' Aegean iſle: thus they relate,

Nor till the ſun deſcended, touch'd the ground. POPE.

Tho' our poet has kept pretty cloſe to the words of Homer, ſo that theſe verſes might ſerve for a tranſlation of the Greek, yet he has enriched the deſcription with ſeveral additional beauties of his own. Such as his artful dwelling upon the time he took to fall from heaven to earth, and his comparing him with great propriety to a falling ſtar, dropping from the Zenith, while Homer ſays only, 'At 'the ſetting of the ſun, I fell upon 'Lemnos.' Milton has derived the ſtory of Vulcan falling from heaven, from the hiſtory of Satan and his angels being expelled from bliſs, and precipitated into hell. This is the opinion too of Spondanus, in his commentary upon Homer, where he has the following words, "Hic Vulcani "lapſus non valde abeſt ab hiſtoria "ſacra, quae angelos detruſos coelo "pariter commemorat. Et neſcio an "ab hoc, ignara illa, ac caeca anti-"quitas adumbrarit."

Our poet has here given Vulcan the ſurname of Mulciber, by which epithet he was diſtinguiſhed among the Romans, from his being the firſt (as they thought) who found out the art of ſoftning iron by the heat of fire (1). So Ovid calls him (2),

"Mulciberis capti Marſque Venuſ-
"que dolis.

And Virgil (3),

"Hic Nomadum genus, et diſcinc-
"tos Mulciber Afros
"Pinxerat——

ZENITH] This is an Arabic word, SEMT AL RAS, ſignifying THE POINT OF THE HEAD, which the Europeans have corrupted into Zenith. (Herbelot Bibl. Orient. p. 655.) Aſtronomers underſtand by this term the vertical point of the heavens, diſtant 90 degrees from the horizon.

LEMNOS] This iſland was accounted by the ancients ſacred to

(1) Tzetz. Chil. x. Hiſtor. 335. (2) Art. Amand. l. ii. 562. (3) Aen. viii. 724.

Erring; for he with his rebellious rout
Fell long before; nor aught avail'd him now
To have built in heav'n high tow'rs; nor did he ſcape
By all his engines, but was headlong ſent
With his induſtrious crew to build in hell.
Mean while the winged heralds by command
Of ſovran power, with aweful ceremony
And trumpets ſound throughout the hoſt proclaim

Vulcan, who was ſaid to have fallen upon it, as we have already obſerved. Accordingly the chief city of the iſland was called by his name Haephaeſtia, as Pliny informs us (1). For the ſame reaſon Valerius Flaccus calls it Vulcanian (2),

"—jam ſummis Vulcania ſurgit
"Lemnos aquis——

And a little below (3),

"Lemnos cara Deo: nec famae no-
"tior Aetnae
"Aut Lipares domus——

Bochart obſerves (4) from Euſtathius, that Vulcan was thought to reſide in this iſland particularly, becauſe of the flames which were ſeen to ariſe here out of the ground. Here are Euſtathius' words (5), Οτι πῦρ ἔκαι γήθεν ἀνεδίδοτο ποτε αὐτομαῖον, "Quod olim "ibi a terra erumpebat ſpontaneus "ignis."

Heralds] Milton has taken this thought of the heralds calling the evil angels together, from the ancients, by whom they were always employed on ſuch occaſions as this. Thus Homer repreſents them calling together the Grecians to council, and diſpoſing them in their proper places (6),

——ἐννέα δὲ σφέας
Κήρυκες βοοώντες ἐρήτυον, εἴποτ' ἄυτῆς
Σχοίατ', ἀκούσειαν δὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλήων.

Nine ſacred heralds now proclaiming loud
The monarch's will, ſuſpend the liſtning crowd. Pope.

In other places of Homer's poem we find them preſiding over ſingle combats, declaring the will of their lords,

(1) L. iv. c. 12. (2) L. ii. 78. (3) V. 95. (4) Chan. l. i. cap. 12. (5) Ad Il. i. (6) Il. ii. 97.

A ſolemn council forthwith to be held
At Pandaemonium, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers: their ſummons call'd
From every band and ſquared regiment
By place or choice the worthieſt; they anon
With hundreds and with thouſands trooping came
Attended: all acceſs was throng'd, the gates
And porches wide, but chief the ſpacious hall
(Though like a cover'd field, where champions bold
Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair

and proclaiming the victor in the games. Virgil repreſents them in the ſame way (1),

" Victorem magna praeconis voce
" Cloanthum
" Declarat——

PANDAEMONIUM] This name Milton has formed from the Greek, ſignifying the hall, or place of aſſembly for all the daemons to meet in. Probably he did this in imitation of Spencer, who gives his heroes and heroines ſuch names as are expreſſive of their ſeveral characters, ſuch as, Dolon, Sanglier, Adicia, Placidas, &c. and forms them indifferently from any language, that beſt ſuited his purpoſe. Our poet has imitated him in this liberty.

COVER'D FIELD] Milton has fetched this epithet from the French, who call a covered field, CHAMP CLOS. The Liſts. Theſe liſts were very ſpacious, becauſe the ancient cuſtom was to combat on horſeback in compleat armour, and hence this hall in Pandaemonium is compared, for its ſize, to the Champ Clos. Milton does not leave his ſimile here, but goes on to ſhew the ancient cuſtom of chivalry, which was to demand leave of the ſovereign to fight, who appointed the time, place, and manner of the combat, and named the judges and marſhals of the field.

SOLDAN'S CHAIR] Our poet alludes to thoſe accounts of the ſingle combats between the Saracens and

(1) Aen. v. 245.

Defi'd the beſt of Panim chivalry
To mortal combat or career with lance)
Thick ſwarm'd, both on the ground and in the air,
Bruſht with the hiſs of ruſsling wings. As bees

Chriſtians in Spain and Palaeſtine, which the old romances are full of, and which have been faithfully copied by Taſſo and Arioſto, almoſt in every page of their poems. Our learned Spencer has given us a very pointed deſcription of a combat in the CHAMP CLOS, in his Fairy Queen (1).

PAYNIM] An old word, uſed by Chaucer and Spencer, ſignifying Pagans, or Heathens. Spencer, Fairy Queen (2),

And hurl not flaſhing flames upon
that PAYNIM bold.

MORTAL COMBAT OR CAREER] Milton has carefully diſtinguiſhed the two different methods of combat in the CHAMP CLOS. Sometimes theſe fights were only for ſport, and to ſhew their addreſs. Upon theſe occaſions the combatants made uſe of ſpears and ſwords, whoſe points were blunted beforehand. Theſe arms the ancient French hiſtorians call GLAIVES COURTOIS. Even in this caſe, it ſometimes happened that the combatants loſt their lives. Moreri has given us ſeveral inſtances of this (3). At other times theſe combats were uſed to decide differences between particular perſons, who offered to fight, that the victory might ſhow which was in the right. In this caſe the death of one of the parties generally decided the queſtion, and the victor was pronounced innocent. Thus Rapin informs us, that Henry V. of England ſent a challenge of this kind to the Dauphine, in the year MCCCCXV. that the combat might decide the differences between him and the French. Monſtrelet tells us, that in the year MCCCCXIV. three Portugueze fought againſt as many French, near Paris, in the Champ Clos (4). Hiſtory furniſhes us with ſeveral more examples of this ſort of combats, which came by degrees to be left off. We find ſtill among the collections of ancient Scots laws, ſeveral conſtitutions relating to this kind of duels, which ſhows that this practice was common at that time (5).

AS BEES] This ſimile is deſerved-

(1) B. iv. c. 3. ſt. 3. (2) B. i. c. 6. ſt. 5. (3) Dict. voce Tournois. (4) An. 1414. c. 136. (5) Will. ſtat. cap. 27.

ly reckoned one of the fineſt in our author's poem, not only on account of the beauty of the deſcription and verſification, but from its being particularly and exactly adapted to the image he intends to repreſent. We find Homer making uſe of the ſame ſimile to denote the number of the Grecian army. It is the firſt, and one of the fineſt in the Iliad (1),

Ὥυτε ἔθνεα ἧσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,
Πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων,
Βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν,
Αἱ μέν τ' ἔνθα ἅλις ποτέονται, αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα.

As from ſome rocky cleft, the ſhepherd ſees,
Cluſtring in heaps on heaps, the driving bees,
Rolling and black'ning, ſwarms ſucceeding ſwarms,
With deeper murmurs, and more hoarſe alarms;
Dusky they ſpread, a cloſe-embodied crowd,
And o're the vale deſcends the living cloud. POPE.

Our poet has imitated Homer with great exactneſs, and has finely improved his thought, by the addition of the three laſt verſes,

Or on the ſmoothed plank, &c.

which gives his ſimile the more propriety, as alluding to the following council of the daemons. The ſwarms and cluſters of bees expreſs the ſtrained cloud of the angels, and the mention of their RUSSLING WINGS, gives it another propriety which could not be found in Homer, as his ſubject did not admit of it, and at the ſame time makes a moſt natural introduction to the ſimile. Virgil's imitation of this ſimile is perhaps the fineſt he has taken from Homer in the whole Aeneid, either for the beauty of the verſes, or the application, yet it wants much of equalling Milton's (1),

"Qualis apes aeſtate nova per florea rura
"Exercet ſub ſole labor; quum gentis adultos
"Educunt foetus, aut quum liquentia mella
"Stipant, et dulci diſtendunt nectare cellas,
"Aut onera accipiunt venientium, aut agmine facto
"Ignavum fucos pecus a praeſepibus arcent;
"Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.

Macrobius (3) prefers this imitation of Virgil's to the original, "Vides "deſcriptas apes (ſays that critic) a "Virgilio opifices, ab Homero vagas. "Alter diſcurſum, et ſolam volatus "varietatem, alter exprimit nativae "artis officium." Our poet's deſcription has not only all the beauties that Macrobius points out in Virgil, but ſeveral others, which he has omitted;

(1) Il. ii. 87. (2) Lib. i. 431. (3) Sat. v. c. 11.

In Spring-time, when the ſun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive
In cluſters; they among freſh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro, or on the ſmoothed plank,
The ſuburb of their ſtraw-built citadel,
New-rubb'd with baum, expatiate and confer

ſuch is their walking to and fro upon the plank that ſupports their hive, and (as may be ſuppoſed) conferring about their little concerns, which has a pretty alluſion to the council he is going to deſcribe, and the beautiful periphraſis he takes to denote the ſeaſon of the year,

—when the ſun with Taurus rides.

Their flying among freſh dews and flowers, as our poet expreſſes it, has been taken notice of by Virgil on another occaſion (1),

" Ac veluti in pratis, ubi apes aeſ-
" tate ſerena
" Floribus inſidunt variis, et candi-
" da circum
" Lilia funduntur; ſtrepit omnis
" murmure campus.

We find in the ſame poet two verſes that ſeem to expreſs theſe of our author,

Pour forth their populous youth, &c.

" Ut cum prima novi ducent exami-
" na reges
" Vere ſuo, ludetque favis emiſſa ju-
" ventus (2),

Taurus] This is in April, when the ſun enters that ſign of the zodiac. Virgil has uſed the ſame poetical periphraſis to denote the Spring (3),

" Candidus auratis aperit cum cor-
" nibus annum
" Taurus——

Seneca in Hercule Fur. (4),

" —qua tepenti Vere laxatur dies
" Tyriaeque per undas vector Eu-
" ropae nitet.

Manilius has deſcribed the riſing of this conſtellation in the following verſes (5),

" Ille ſuis Phoebum portat cum cor-
" nibus orbem,
" Militiam indicit terris, et ſegnia
" rura
" In veteres revocat cultus, dux ipſe
" laboris.

Expatiate] This is a Latin word, which Milton has here ventured to introduce into our language, ſigni-

(1) Aen. vi. 707. (2) Geor. iv. 21. (3) G. i. 217. (4) V. 8. (5) L. iv. 144.

Their ſtate affairs. So thick the aerie crowd
Swarm'd and were ſtraitn'd; till the ſignal giv'n.
Behold a wonder! they but now who ſeem'd
In bigneſs to ſurpaſs earth's giant ſons
Now leſs than ſmalleſt dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberleſs, like that Pigmean race
Beyond the Indian mount, or fairie elves,

fying to walk abroad. So Virgil uſes it (1),

" Aut ante ora Deûm, pingues ſpa-
" tiatur ad aras.

And Cicero (2), " Ut palaeſtricè ſpa-
" tiari in Xyſto liceat." Milton is not the firſt of our poets, who has uſed ſuch a liberty. We find examples of it in Shakeſpear, who has not ſcrupled it upon every occaſion. Thus in the firſt part of Henry VI.

Nor ſhall that nation boaſt it ſo with us,
But be EXTIRPED from our provinces.

And below,

For ever ſhould they be EXPULS'D from France.

PIGMEAN RACE] See the notes on ver. 575.

FAIRY ELVES] Our poet here alludes to the ſtories told and believed by the country people, of certain ſylphs, or genii of the air, ſometimes ſeen by them, frolicking and dancing by moon-light. Upon this vulgar opinion Shakeſpear has founded a great part of his play called A mid-ſummer's night's dream. Milton in his Allegro introduces a clown telling

—how the drudging goblin ſweat,
To earn his cream-bowl duly ſet,
When in one night, e're glimpſe of morn,
His ſhadowy flail had threſh'd the corn,
That ten day-labourers could not end.

Shakeſpear repreſents them in the ſame manner (3),

——Are you not he
That fright the maidens of the villagree,
Skim milk, and ſometimes labour in the quern,

(1) Aen. iv. 62. (2) Orat. c. iii. (3) Act ii. ſc. 1.

And bootleſs make the breathleſs huſwife churn, &c.

It would alſo ſeem that our poet had in his view in this ſimile, the following verſes of Virgil (1),

"Qualis in Eurotae ripis, aut per jugа Cynthi
"Exercet Diana choros; quam mille ſecutae
"Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades. Illa pharetram
"Fert humero, gradienſque deas ſupereminet omnes.
"Latonae tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.

tho' he has applied the deſcription Virgil gives of Diana and her virgins, to the elves and fairies. Milton has finely imitated the laſt verſe of this ſimile, in this line,

At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.

We find a paſſage in Horace very like this (2),

"Jam Cytherea choros ducit IMMINENTE LUNA,
"Junctaeque nymphis, Gratiae decentes
"Alterno terram quatiunt pede.

From the IMMINENTE LUNA of Horace, our author ſeems to have formed,

——while over head the moon
Sits arbitreſs——

We have the ſame thought in Penſeroſo,

To behold the wand'ring moon,
Riding near her higheſt noon,
And oft as if her head ſhe bow'd,
STOOPING through a fleecy cloud.

We cannot here omit taking notice of the paſſage of Homer, whence Virgil formed the verſes above quoted, which are almoſt a tranſlation of them (3),

Οἵη δ' Ἀρτέμιδος ἔσικε κατ' οὔρεος ἰοχέαιρα,
Ἢ κατὰ Τηΰγετον περιμήκετον, ἢ Ἐρύμανθον,
Τερπομένη κάπροισι, καὶ ὠκείης ἐλάφοισι.
Τῇ δὲ θ' ἅμα νύμφαι κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
Ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι· γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ.

Tho' it be allowed our poet had the fore-cited paſſages in his eye, yet it would appear that the original groundwork of this compariſon, and the manner of applying it, is altogether his own. He does not here repreſent Diana or her wood nymphs, neither does he introduce the Graces attending on Venus; but he has with great propriety and addreſs formed his thought upon the ancient traditions relating to the elves and fairies inhabiting the woods, which renders his ſimile more apt and beautiful. It would have been ridiculous to have compared theſe malevolent ſpirits to any of the goddeſſes of antiquity; neither would this have conveyed to the reader the idea of that ſmall ſtature to which they had reduced themſelves. But by introducing the elves, he has

(1) Aen. i. 502. (2) L. i. od. 4. (3) Odyſ. vi. 102.

Whoſe midnight revels, by a forreſt ſide
Or fountain ſome belated peaſant ſees,
Or dreams he ſees, while over-head the moon

rendered the ſimile compleat and exact in all its parts. It was an ancient opinion that theſe ſylphs aſſaulted mortals and tortured them, if they found them near their haunts. Thus Saxo Grammaticus repreſents them, in his tranſlation of ſome of the old Daniſh poems (1),

" Trux lemurum chorus advehitur,
" praecepſque per auras
" Curſitat, et vaſtos edit ad aſtra ſo-
" nos.
" Sylvanis coëunt aquilli, larvaeque
" nocentes.

To this Shakeſpear alludes in his comedy of Errors (2),

This is the Fairy land, Oh ſpite of ſpights!
We talk with goblins, owls, and elviſh ſprights.
If we obey them not, this will enſue,
They'll ſuck our blood, and pinch us black and blue.

And in the Merry Wives of Windſor (3),

They're fairies. He that ſpeaks to them ſhall die;
I'll wink and couch, no man their works muſt eye.

Pomponius Mela has mentioned a fable, much a-kin to this of our poet (4), when ſpeaking of the vaſt plains of Aethiopia, " Cum in his nihil culti " ſit, nullae habitantium ſedes, nulla " veſtigia, ſolitudo in diem vaſta, et " ſilentium vaſtius, nocte crebri ignes " micant, et veluti caſtra latè jacen- " tia oſtenduntur, crepant cymba- " la et tympana, audiunturque ti- " biae ſonantes majus humanis." We have the ſame account of theſe ſpectres from Olaus Magnus, in his Northern hiſtory (5), " Pro conſtanti ha- " bitum (ſays this author) hos Fau- " nos eſſe ac Satyros, ſimiles illis ſpec- " tris, quae in multis locis Septen- " trionalis regionis, praeſertim noc- " turno tempore, ſuum ſaltatorium " orbem, cum omnium Muſarum con- " centu verſare ſolent. — Hunc noc- " turnum monſtrorum ludum vocant " incolae Choream Elvarum."

OR DREAMS HE SEES] Virgil has a ſimilar expreſſion (6),

" Aut videt, aut vidiſſe putat per
" nubila lunam.

In the ſame manner Apollonius Rhodius (7),

Ἠ ἴδεν, ἢ ἐδοκήσεν ἐπαχλυσαν ἰδέσθαι.

(1) Hiſt. Dan. (2) Act. ii. (3) Act v. (4) L. iii. c. 9. (5) L. iii. c. 11. (6) Aen. vi. 454. (7) Argon. l. iv.

Sits arbitreſs, and nearer to the earth
Wheels her pale courſe, they on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocond muſic charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal ſpirits to ſmalleſt forms
Reduc'd their ſhapes immenſe, and were at large,
Though without number ſtill amidſt the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within
And in their own dimenſions like themſelves
The great ſeraphic lords and cherubim
In cloſe receſs and ſecret conclave ſat
A thouſand demy-gods on golden ſeats,
Frequent and full. After ſhort ſilence then

AT LARGE] That is, they had room enough; they were not crowded. In the ſame ſenſe our poet in another place (1),

——e're long to ſwim at large.

CONCLAVE] This word in the original ſignification means a chamber. It is now generally uſed to ſignify the hall in which the cardinals aſſemble, the tenth day after the death of a pope, in order to elect a ſucceſſor. Our poet here uſes this word to denote the ſecrecy of this conſultation of the rebel angels; the place where the cardinals meet, being guarded with the greateſt care, to prevent all communication with thoſe without, neither are the electors allowed to go abroad, till a new pope is choſen, on any account whatever.

DEMY-GODS] This anſwers to the Ἡμίθεος of the Greeks, being an epithet they beſtowed upon their heroes, whom they ſuppoſed to approach neareſt to Divinity. Thus Heſiod (2),

(1) B. xi. 626. (2) Ἐργ. v. 159.

And ſummons read, the great conſult began.

Ανδρῶν ἡρώων δῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται
Ημίθεοι——
" Heroum genus divinum, ſemidei
" dicti.

And Homer calls his heroes (1),

——ἡμίθεον γένος ἀνδρῶν.

(1) Il. xii. 28.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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